

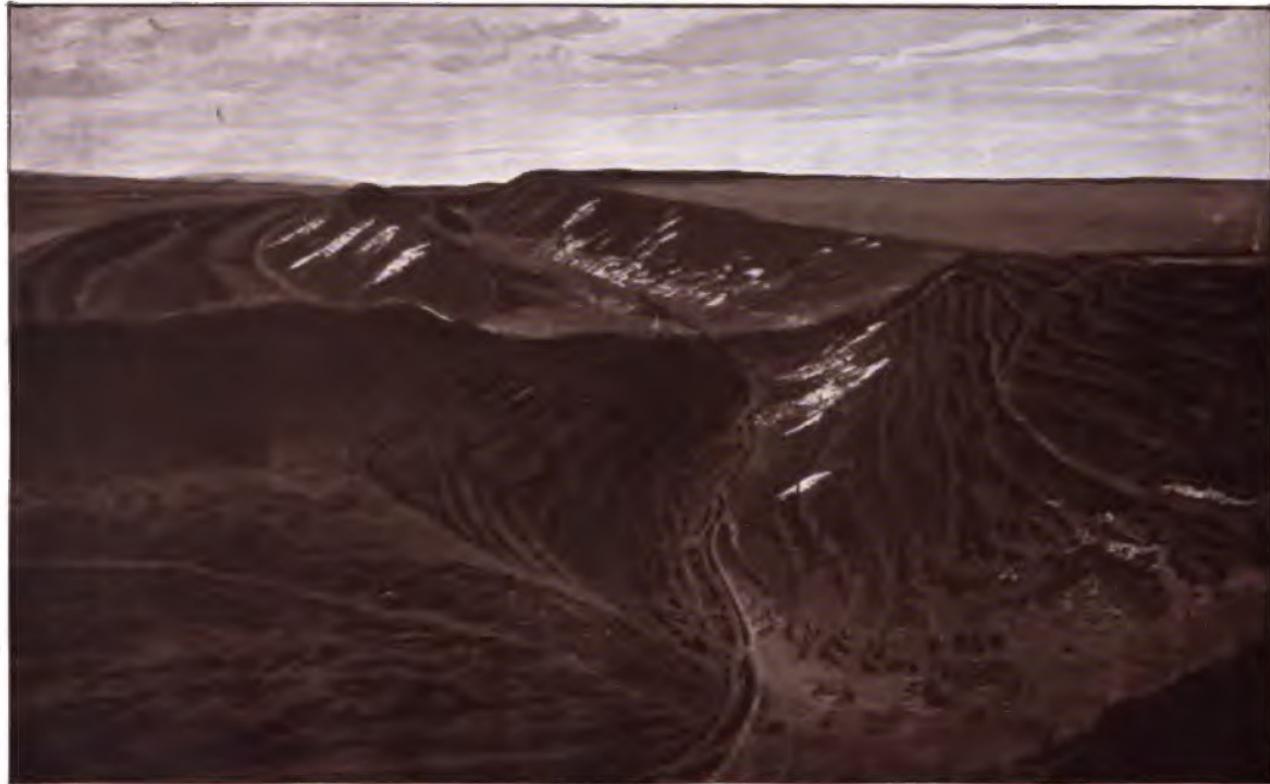
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THE  
AGRICOLA OF TACITUS

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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(M612)

MAIDEN CASTLE, DORCHESTER  
(THE SITE OF A BRITISH FORTIFIED CAMP)

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## INTRODUCTION

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### I. LIFE AND WORKS OF TACITUS.

One day, in the course of conversation at the games of the Circus, a stranger asked Tacitus whether he was an Italian, or provincial. "You know me," answered the historian, "and in fact from my literary efforts." "Are you Tacitus or Pliny?" said the stranger. To us, as to their contemporaries, Tacitus and the younger Pliny are the most eminent and inseparable names in the literature of the period known as the 'Silver Age of Latin'. They have both won "that consideration from posterity" which Pliny says they at least "deserved for their efforts, hard work, and regard for after-ages". Pliny foresaw the immortality of his friend's historical work, and hoped to find a niche for himself in that 'Temple of Fame'; he would have said, in Steele's words :

" Soon that will die which adds thy fame to mine;  
Let me then live joined to a work of thine ".

But he has an immortality of his own. Accident has lost to us, and it is feared lost irretrievably, much of Tacitus' work, and with it the part that concerned Pliny, but has preserved to us the very letters, amongst them the letters describing the eruption of Vesuvius and the death of Pliny's famous uncle, the naturalist and historian, which were written at Tacitus' request for incorporation in his works. Moreover, Pliny in his letters supplies us with that very part which the historian neglects, and gives us an insight into the daily life, occupations, and interests of a noble and literary Roman; so that from Pliny we get the counterpart to the picture of

the public life and events that Tacitus gives; and the work of the one author completes the work of the other.

Cornelius Tacitus belonged to an equestrian family, and was born between 50 and 55 A.D. Interamna (Terni) claims to be his birthplace, merely, it seems, because the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275), who was said to be descended from the historian, came from there. He was trained for 'the Bar', being probably a pupil of the grammarian Quintilian, the greatest of all Roman teachers and professors of education, and enjoyed in his youth the society of the most learned men of his days. Later, he was, as we have seen, with the younger Pliny, the man best known to the Roman literary world. It has been supposed that he went in 74 to Aquitania with Agricola, whose daughter he married in 78. At any rate, about this time he began his political career, for he says that Vespasian gave him his first step, and Titus his second. Under Domitian he became a praetor in 88, and as a commissioner of religious ceremonies (*quindecimvir sacris faciendis*) he presided with his colleagues at the celebration of the Secular Games, which were held once in a century, and for the last celebration of which, under Augustus, Horace had written his *Carmen Saeculare*.

In Aquitania he perhaps served his military apprenticeship, for Augustus had made a rule that the young aspirant to political life should begin by taking an honorary military tribunate, which was a staff-appointment with the nominal rank of tribune. By 'the first and second steps' Tacitus plainly means a quaestorship and plebeian tribunate (or aedileship). Thus a Roman of rank would learn something of soldiering, financial administration, and city-duties. The praetorship that came next would give him an insight into the workings of the law-courts and some knowledge of law. With this training a man would be well equipped for the greater offices in the city itself and for the higher duties of provincial government. In the course of his career a priesthood, flamenship, or some duties in connexion with the state-religion would be generally added; for at Rome 'church' and 'state' were inseparably united, the emperor

himself being supreme in both, just as the kings of old had been.

For four years, from 89 or 90, Tacitus was away from Rome, as governor of a minor province, possibly ‘Germany’, *i.e.* the Roman province on the Gallic side of the Rhine. During his absence Agricola died. On his return to Rome he lived quietly, doing his duty as a senator, witnessing the horrors of the last three years of Domitian’s reign, and unwillingly joining with the rest in the condemnation of fellow-senators: for Domitian not only compelled every senator to attend the sessions regularly, whether for ordinary business or for trial of their peers, but also watched the faces of all to discover their inmost thoughts and feelings.

In 96 Domitian was murdered in his palace, and Nerva was chosen by the Senate to control the destinies of the



Coin of Domitian.

Empire. An eminent man like Tacitus was naturally raised to a high office, and in 97 or 98 he became consul as colleague to the emperor himself (a very high honour), taking the place of Verginius Rufus, who had died. Tacitus pronounced his funeral-oration, and Pliny in connexion with this calls his friend ‘laudator eloquentissimus’. In the year 100 he is united with Pliny in the prosecution of Marius Priscus for extortion and misgovernment as proconsul of Africa, and Pliny characterizes Tacitus’ speech on this occasion as ‘stern and dignified’.

The date of the historian's death is not known; the last event alluded to in his books is Trajan's extension of the Roman frontier to the Red Sea in 115 (*Ann.* ii. 61). His descendant the Emperor Tacitus raised a tomb in his honour, which lasted down nearly to the end of the sixteenth century, when it was destroyed by orders of Pope Pius V.

Of his private life or personality we know little. A few facts can be gleaned from Pliny's letters. He seems to have been as devoted to field-sports and outdoor-life as to literary composition and forensic eloquence, and advised Pliny to give equal honour to 'Minerva and Diana'; which advice Pliny acted upon with some success, for one day as he sat by the nets during a hunting-drive, with both implements of the chase and writing-materials beside him, three boars fell to his spear, and we know not how many poems to his pen. The friendship between these two men evidently arose from similarity of taste and character, and was cemented by what Cicero called the true bond of friendship, goodness and uprightness of life. It began with a boy's ardent admiration on the part of Pliny for the older man, who was already famous at Rome for his eloquence at 'the Bar'; it stood the test of many troubled years; in men's last wills they were generally named together and received the same legacy; even mutual criticism of their literary work brought them only closer together. "I have read your books," says Pliny, "and marked with all possible care what I think needs alteration or excision; for my way is always to speak my mind and yours to give glad attention. No one, in fact, takes criticism better than those who deserve most praise. I am now looking for my book from you with your remarks. O the joy of it! to think how posterity, if it heeds us at all, will always describe the harmony, candour, and loyalty of our intercourse!" (*Ep.* vii. 20).

Of Tacitus' minor works the *Dialogue on Orators* was published in the early part of Domitian's reign, but the time is represented as being the sixth year of Vespasian's reign; it exhibits Tacitus' style as still largely influenced by Cicero. Whereas the *Agricola* (A.D. 98 about), begun under Nerva

and finished under Trajan (cf. ch. 3. and 44.), shows him under the influence of Sallust chiefly, both in arrangement and language, there are reminiscences also of Cicero, Livy, and Virgil, but of the last not so many as in the later works. The style, too, is looser, the language more rhetorical and redundant, less terse and precise than in the *Annals* and *Histories*; and as Professor Gudeman has lately shown (*Class. Rev.*, May, '99), parts of the last chapters are perfect mosaics, made up of phrases and reminiscences from numerous Greek and Latin writers. In fact, his style is in process of formation, not yet formed, but giving a promise of the vigorous and epigrammatic mastery of language that he was afterwards to attain. The *Germania* was published about the same year; this work has been regarded as a satire on Roman life by contrast with an idealized picture of the Germans, and also as a warning of the dangers to the Empire from such a simple and vigorous nation on its borders.

The *Histories*, the materials for which he must have been long collecting, were probably published in the earlier part of Trajan's reign (98–117); they contained the history of the Empire from 69–96, Galba to Domitian, in fourteen books, of which only four books and a portion of the fifth remain to us.

The *Annals* gave the history of the Empire from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero (19–68), in sixteen books, of which we have Books I. to IV., portions of V., VI., XI., Books XII. to XV., and a part of XVI. Besides these he promised a life of Augustus and a life of Nerva and of Trajan.

## II. TACITUS AS A HISTORIAN.

As a historian, Tacitus' chief power lies in the delineation of character, as he has shown specially in his life of Agricola and of Tiberius; in the grand but imaginative description of stirring events, such as that of the final battle at the foot of the Caledonian hills in the *Agricola*, and the retreat of Caecina in the *Annals*; and in the vigorous rhetoric

of the speeches that he puts into the mouths of his public men. We can trust his facts, we must not always trust his judgement; political antipathies and his forensic training have often biassed his conclusions or led him to assume the position of a counsel for defence or prosecution. Moreover, his biographical and annalistic method of treatment militates against a scientific arrangement of historical facts, and his range of view rarely travels beyond Rome itself; from a historian of the Empire we should expect to be told much of the organization, administration, financial system, provincial life, art, religion, and other details of the great Roman world; but, like Thucydides, Tacitus tells us very little, as though such matters did not concern historians. Yet in the *Agricola*, he has shown in his sketch of his father-in-law's reforms and efforts at civilizing that he could have discussed these matters thoroughly and sympathetically.

In his politics he affects, especially in the *Annals*, a republicanism which he was probably far from really feeling; much of this tone was due to the customary exaggeration of the schools of declamation, to mere sentimental talk, to a fashionable hero-worship of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato (cf. Pliny, *Eph.* i. 17), and to the constant discontent of the aristocracy that found expression in bitter epigrams and libels (of which the pages of Suetonius are full). Though he impeaches with all the energy of a public prosecutor the imperial administration when in the hands of a Tiberius, a Nero, or a Domitian, yet his sympathies seem really with a sort of constitutional monarchy, a true union of 'libertas' and 'principatus' (*Agricola*, ch. iii.) such as he says Rome enjoyed under Nerva and had expected from the 'civilis animus' of Germanicus, the father of Caligula. As a practical politician he accepted the inevitable, even under Domitian, and throughout his public career acted as a loyal 'servant of the crown' for the good of his country; at the same time his personal and literary influence must undoubtedly have largely affected the administration of the Empire when governed (after Domitian's death) by that noble line of adoptive sons, from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius,

whose beneficent sovereignty saved the Empire from premature dissolution and has given eternal glory to the 'Age of the Antonines'.<sup>1</sup>

### III. SUMMARY OF AGRICOLA'S LIFE.

- A.D.
- 40. Born at Forum Julii (Frejus), June 13; son of Julius Graecinus, who was put to death by Gaius Caesar, and of Julia Procilla: belonged to the higher equestrian order. Educated at Massilia (Marseilles).
  - 59. With Suetonius Paulinus in Britain.
  - 62 or 63. Married Domitia at Rome.
  - 64, 65. Quaestor in Asia under Salvius Titianus. Birth of daughter.
  - 66. Tribune.
  - 68. Praetor. Commissioner to Galba on Nero's sacrilege.
  - 69. His mother slain by Otho's sailors in Liguria. Joins Vespasian.
  - 70. Sent by Mucianus to Britain, as legate of the 20th region, under Cerialis.
  - 74. On return to Rome, made 'Patrician' by Vespasian and governor of Aquitania.
  - 77. Consul and Pontiff.
  - 78. Daughter married to Tacitus.
  - 78-84. Governor of Britain.
  - 84. Death of his son.
  - 85-93. At Rome till his death.

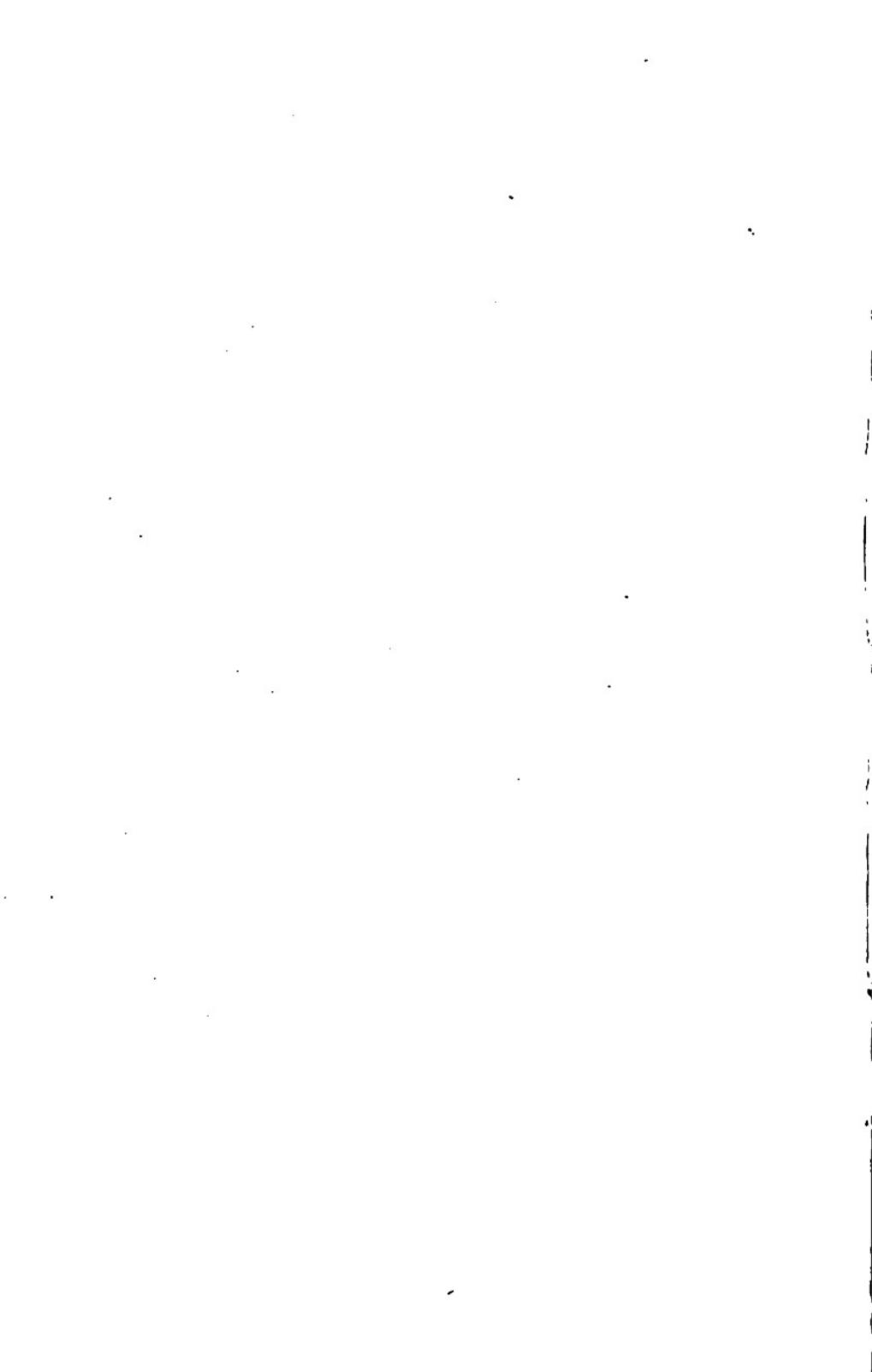
<sup>1</sup> The grammatical appendix will give details of some points of style. In preparing the vocabulary I have been struck not merely by Tacitus' fondness for alliteration but also by his tendency to repeat words in the same or even different senses close together: e.g., xi. 1 and 2, *habitus* and *habito*; xxxiv. 2, *metuo* and *metus*; xv. 3, *maiores* and *maior*; xix. 4, *miseri* and *misereri*; xviii. 2 and 3, *erigo*; xxxvi. 2, *misceo*; (xxxvi. 1, *cohortes* and *cohortatus*;) xxxv. 1 and 2, *ingens*; xxviii. 3, *egressi* and *congressi*.

## IV. SUMMARY OF ROMANO-BRITISH HISTORY.

- B.C. Julius Caesar's invasions.
  - B.C. 31-A.D. 43. Augustus and Tiberius and Gaius Caesar maintain friendly relations with British kings.
  - A.D. 39 (?) (Gaius Caligula) Caesar's mock invasion.
  - A.D. 43. Claudius sends Aulus Plautius and comes afterwards in person.
  - Cassivellaunus and Trinobantes defeated by Julius Cunobelinus (Cymbeline) "King of Britain" (Suet. Cal. 44).
  - Gradual reduction of the South to the defeat of Caractacus (Caradoc), and his betrayal by the Brigantes (Northumbria); Ordovices and Silures (N. and S. Wales) defeated but not subdued.
  - Legates of Britain.*
  - Roman Emperors.*
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><sup>A.D.</sup><br/>43-47. Plautius. (Vespasian<br/>legate of legion.)</p> <p>47-52. Ostorius Scapula.</p> <p>52-57. Didius Gallus.</p> | <p><sup>A.D.</sup><br/>41-54. Claudioius.</p> <p>54-68. Nero.</p> <p>58. Veranius.</p> |
|--|--|
- (<sup>¶</sup> 59-62. Suetonius Paulinus, (Agricola serves on staff.)
- (<sup>¶</sup> 612)
50. 1st Roman province made, and Camulodunum (Colchester) founded as Roman colony.
- Cogidunum independent king (of Sussex?). Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, also ally of Rome; bat Vennius, her husband, quarrels with her and goes against Romans; he and his party defeated by Didius, Prasutagus, king of the Iceni (East Anglia), bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.
61. Mona (Anglesey), the stronghold of the Druids, attacked. Rebellion of Boudicca (Boudicea) and Iceni, and Trinobantes; capture of Camulodunum, and slaughter of Romans throughout the province.
- 62-64. Petronius Turpilianus. Suetonius puts down most of the rebellion. British revolt ended by Petronius.

*Legates of Britain.**Roman Emperors.*

<i>Legates of Britain.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>
A.D. 64-69. Trebellius Maximus. <small>(M 612)</small>	A.D. 68-69. Civil War; Galba, Otho, Vitellius.
70. Vettius Bolanus. <small>71-74. Petilius Cerialis. (Agricola legate of the 20th legion.)</small>	Mutinies and Civil Wars kept Romans occupied. Britain remained quiet. Venusius and his party among the Brigantes finally subdued. Eboracum (York) occupied by 9th legion (as proved by inscriptions).
75-77. Julius Frontinus. 78-84. Julius Agricola.	Silures (S. Wales) subdued. Ordovices (N. Wales) subdued; reduction of North to Clyde and Forth.
79-81. Titus.	Further advance into West and East Caledonia; and defeat of Calgacus at the battle of "Mons Graupius" (84). Voyage of the fleet. Orkneys subdued. Thule (Shetland) sighted. In general, knowledge of Great Britain and Ireland much extended.
81-96. Domitian.	Arriagus in arms against Domitian (Juv. iv. 126).
85. Sallustius Lucullus(?)	96-98. Nerva.
	98-117. Trajan.
	117-138. Hadrian.
	138-161. Antoninus.
	208. Septimius Severus invades North Caledonia; dies at York.
	304. Diocletian forms five provinces.
	409. Honorius withdraws the Roman legions from Britain.



*Even now under Nerva and Trajan, we have not been able yet to recover our former power. This book is a tribute of filial affection.*

3. Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo 1 statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dis- sociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postrēmo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mor- 2 talis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci et, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos, per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel 3 incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic 4 interim liber honori Agricolae socii mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

#### Chapters IV.-IX.

#### Life of Agricola to his appointment as legate of Britain. (A.D. 40-78.)

*Parentage, education at home and Massilia; he checks his tendency to excessive love of philosophy. (A.D. 40-58.)*

4. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiu- 1 liensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem

Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescens tiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integrumque naturam, quod statim parvulus, sedem ac magistrum studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compostum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius ultraque quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudenter matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adipetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.



Bronze Helmet found at Ribchester, Lancashire.

*His training in war under Suetonius Paulinus in Britain.  
(A.D. 59-62.)*

1 5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem eontubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus

*Locutus*  
et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitiui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob ~~formidinem~~ recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias excitatior magis 3 que in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque 4 alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupidio, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

*His marriage: happiness through mutual concessions. His honest quaestorship, and quiet tribunate and praetorship under Nero; special commission under Galba. (A.D. 63-68.)*

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus 1 Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, pro consule Salvium 2 Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus 3 est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae rector 4

et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et  
 inania honoris medio moderationis atque abundantiae  
 5 duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus  
 a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima  
 conquisitione effecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium  
 res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

*Death of his mother. He joins Vespasian; sent by Mucianus  
 to Britain to restore the discipline of the 20th legion.  
 (A.D. 69-70.)*

1 7. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque  
 2 eius adfixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum  
 Intimilium (Liguria pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem  
 Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et  
 magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis  
 3 fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola,  
 nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac  
 4 statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac  
 statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domi-  
 tiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.  
 5 Is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac  
 strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramen-  
 tum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere  
 narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac  
 formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum  
 6 potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor  
 simul et ulti electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri  
 invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

*Service in Britain under Bolanus and Cerialis. (A.D. 70-73.)*

1 8. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius  
 quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola  
 vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne cresceret, peritus  
 2 obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde  
 Britannia consularem Petilium Ceriale accepit. Habu-

erunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola s<sup>o</sup> umquam in suam famam gestis exultavit: ad auctorem



Roman Gateway, Pevensey.

ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

*On return to Rome he is made a 'patrician' and then governor of Aquitania, which he rules with dignity, firmness, and honour. Consul. Marries his daughter to Tacitus. (A.D. 74-78.)*

9. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespa-<sup>70</sup>  
rianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aqui-

*plorat*

tiae praeposuit, splendidae ~~in primis~~ dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingenii subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat.  
 3 Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis intentus severus et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nullam ultra potestatis personam; (tristitiam et adrogantiam et amaritatem exuerat); nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem diminuit; integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre.  
 5 iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus trienium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur.  
 7 Haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

### Chapters X.-XII.—Description of Britain.

*Position and shape of Britain; the voyage of the fleet; the northern sea.*

- 1 10. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingenive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae

priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia 2 complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. For- 3 mam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, 4 unde et in universum fama; sed transgressis inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litora terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novis- 5 simi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domu- itque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: 6 et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remi- gantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quae- 7 rere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litora tenus ad crescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

*Inhabitants of Britain; Caledonians from Germany,  
Silurians from Spain, and Gauls.*

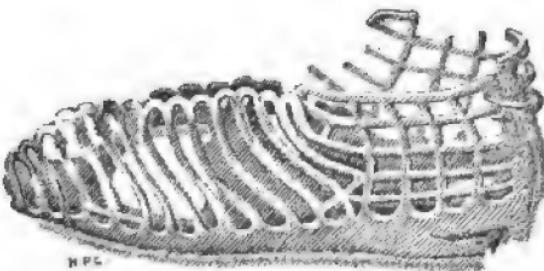
11. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, 1 indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. usus

Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque 2

~~Arutilae~~ Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Ger- manicam originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus,

*brown*

torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres ~~traieciisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt;~~ proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis <sup>vi,</sup> seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio <sup>Clementia</sup> caeli corpori-<sup>bus</sup> habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti <sup>ut</sup> Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum



Leather Shoe found in London.

sacra deprehendas ac superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse, accepimus; mox <sup>longior</sup> segnifia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

*Military and political state of Britain, want of union; climate, length of daylight and cause; soil and products.*

1    12. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. Honestior <sup>rebus</sup> auriga clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis 2 distracthuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi

## ROMAN BRITAIN

Roads .....   
Forests .....   
Fens ..... 



8 vincuntur. Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorū abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas.

9 Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit.

10 Solum praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum, secundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus 11 umor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. Gignit et Oceanus

12 margarita, sed subfuscā ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

### Chapters XIII.—XVII.—Roman conquests in Britain up to arrival of Agricola as legate.

*Invasions of Julius Caesar, project of Gaius Caesar,  
expedition of Claudius. (B.C. 55—A.D. 43.)*

1 13. Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.

2 Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostend-

3 isse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus Augustus vocabat,

Tiberius praecepit. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de in-<sup>4</sup>  
 tranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili  
 paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus  
 frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis,<sup>5</sup>  
 transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem ~~principi~~  
 rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae  
 fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Ves-  
 pasianus.

*Britain under government of Plautius and Scapula; the first province; kingdom of Cogidumnus; government of Didius Gallus, Veranius, Paulinus; Mona attacked. (A.D. 43-61.)*

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus<sup>1</sup>  
 ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius:  
 redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars  
 Britanniae; addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quae-<sup>2</sup>  
 dam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram  
 usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), ut, vetere ac iam  
 pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, haberet  
 instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta<sup>3</sup>  
 a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora  
 promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium  
 Veranius exceptit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Sue-<sup>4</sup>  
 tonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, sub-  
 actis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia  
 Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus  
 terga occasione patefecit.

*The rebellion under Boudicca; causes, and expectations of success. (A.D. 61.)*

15. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni<sup>1</sup>  
 agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et inter-  
 pretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora

Roman Stones, Nether Hall, Maryport.



tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi <sup>2</sup> olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aequae discordiam praepositorum, aequae concordiam subiectis exitiosam. Alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim <sup>3</sup> et contumelias miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorum esse qui spoliat: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse <sup>4</sup> militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi. Sibi <sup>5</sup> patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus integris, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum <sup>6</sup> ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

*The outbreak; Paulinus' harshness in suppressing the rebellion. Turpilianus succeeds him. Government of Trebellius Maximus and Bolanus; mutinous conduct of the troops. (A.D. 61-70.)*

16. His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca <sup>1</sup> generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsero universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consecrati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi <sup>2</sup> Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset,

amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne (quamquam egregius cetera) adroganter in deditos et,  
 3 ut sua, cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam  
 4 tradidit. Trebellius, segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustum segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, cum  
 5 adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humiliis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam,  
 6 dux salutem essent, seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invitus caritatem paraverat loco autoritatis.

*Government and conquests of Cerialis and Frontinus.*  
 (A.D. 71-77.)

1 17. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantium civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium partem aut Victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruiisset: sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat,

validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit,  
super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates  
eluctatus.

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### Chapters XVIII.-XXXVIII.

#### Government and conquests of Agricola.

(A.D. 78-84.)

*Agricola arrives in midsummer; conquest of the Ordovices  
and capture of Mona. (A.D. 78.)*

18. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media <sup>1</sup>  
iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites  
velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad  
occasione verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo <sup>2</sup>  
ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope  
universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. Et <sup>3</sup>  
quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac  
recentis legati animum operiri, cum Agricola, quam-  
quam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri,  
praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et con-  
traria bellum incohatuero, et plerisque custodiri suspecta  
potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contrac-  
tisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia  
in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante  
agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit  
aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus <sup>4</sup>  
instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem  
ceteris fore, Monam insulam, a cuius possessione revo-  
catum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memo-  
ravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in  
dubiis consiliis, naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis  
transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos aux- <sup>5</sup>  
iliarium, quibus nota vada et proprius nandi usus, quo  
simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit,

ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad **6** bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti



Colchester Castle.

provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisse.  
**7** Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

*His reforms and methods in administration; redress of grievances. (Winter of 78-79.)*

**19.** Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si

desiderat

iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A 2  
 se suisque ɔrsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod  
 plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam re-  
 gere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non  
 studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centu-  
 rionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissi-  
 mum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. Parvis 3  
 peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec  
 poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse;  
 officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praepo-  
 ponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et 4  
 tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, cir-  
 cumcisio quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius  
 tolerabantur. (Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis  
 horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogeb-  
 bantur. Divortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum in- 5  
 dicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia  
 deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis  
 lucrosum fieret.)

*Campaign; several states subdued and secured by forts.  
 (A.D. 79.)*

20. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam 1  
 famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia  
 priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi 2  
 aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine,  
 laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere; loca castris ipse  
 capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil  
 interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis ex-  
 cursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo  
 rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae 3  
 civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis  
 obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circum-

*hostages*

datae tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae  
nova pars pariter illacessita transierit.

*untouched*

*Agricola encourages erection of public buildings, adoption  
of Roman civilization. (Winter, 79-80.)*

- 1 **21.** Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta.  
Namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella  
faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari  
privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa ~~fora~~, domos extrue-  
rent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris  
2 aemulatio, pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios  
liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis  
Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam ab-  
3 nuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus  
nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum  
ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et baliæa et convivi-  
orum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas voca-  
batur, cum pars servitutis esset.

*Advance to the estuary Tanaus; his skill in placing forts;  
his treatment of his men. (A.D. 80.)*

- 1 **22.** Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit,  
vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationi-  
bus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum  
saevis tempestatibus exercitum laceссere non ausi;  
2 ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant  
periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius  
legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi  
hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; cre-  
brae eruptiones; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis  
3 copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quis-  
que praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia

soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare  
tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola 4



Bronze Helmet of unusual form,  
found folded up in a water-course  
at Guisborough, Yorkshire.

umquam per alios gesta avi-  
dus intercepit: seu centurio  
seu praefectus incorruptum  
facti testem habebat. Apud  
quosdam acerbior in conviciis  
narrabatur, et erat ut comis  
bonis, ita adversus malos in-  
iucundus. Ceterum ex ira-5  
cundia nihil supererat secre-  
tum, ut silentium eius non  
timeres: honestius putabat  
offendere quam odisse.

*The country to Clyde and Forth secured and the isthmus  
fortified. (A.D. 81.)*

**23.** Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat in-1  
sumpta; ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis  
gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.  
Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per 2  
inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur:  
quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus  
tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

*Expedition by sea; occupation of country opposite Ireland;  
account of Ireland. (A.D. 82.)*

**24.** Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgres-1  
sus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac pros-  
peris proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae  
Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam  
ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britan-  
niam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari op-

portuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem  
 2 usibus miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: melius aditus portusque per com-  
 3 mercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam pro-  
 futurum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

*Advance of Romans beyond the Bodotria, supported by the fleet. Boldness of Britons. Fear among Romans. Roman army advances in three divisions. (A.D. 83.)*

1 25. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabant, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia  
 2 compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris  
 3 sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, opugnare ultiro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et exce-

dendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et per-<sup>4</sup> itia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incessit.

*Ninth legion attacked by night. Agricola sends reinforcements. Defeat of Britons.*

**26.** Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio <sup>1</sup> universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum <sup>2</sup> Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecurus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiit <sup>3</sup> malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his ut tulisse opem, illis ne egruisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi <sup>4</sup> paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

*Greater readiness among the Romans for further advance.  
Gathering of the Britons.*

**27.** Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil <sup>1</sup> virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. Atque illi modo cauti ac <sup>2</sup> sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni, non <sup>3</sup>

virtute se sed occasione et arte ducis victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. Atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

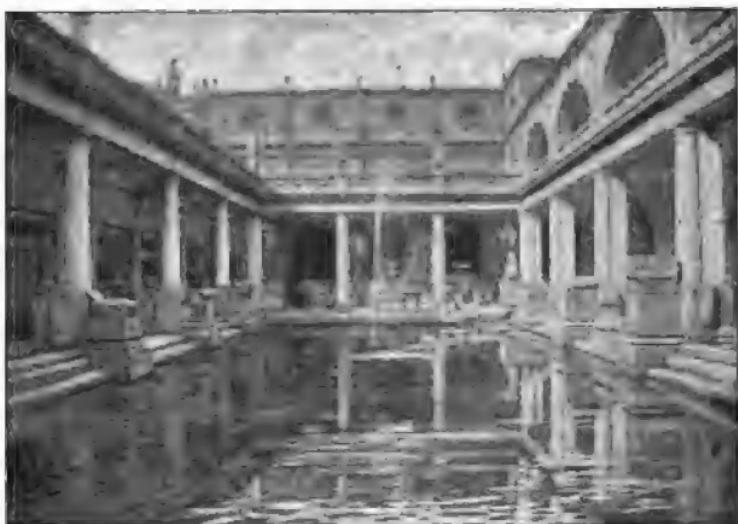
*A cohort of the Usipi seizes three ships and deserts; after many privations and sufferings the survivors are taken by Suebians and Frisians.*

- 1 28. Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac 2 memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno retro remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum 3 vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. 4 Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amisis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habitii, primum a Sue- 5 bis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

*Death of Agricola's infant son. Advance of the army to 'Mons Graupius', where the Britons under Calgacus are gathered in force. (A.D. 84.)*

- 1 29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico yuinere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta

rurus ac maeorem muliebriter tullit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium per-



Roman Bath from the east end, at Bath.

The Ancient Stones are shown on the inner side of the Modern Pillars.

venit, quem iam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil  
fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium  
expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum con-  
cordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium  
civitatum vires exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia  
<sup>all</sup>  
<sup>tribus</sup> arinatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iu-  
ventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et  
sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces  
virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud con-  
tractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc mo-  
dum locutus fertur:

*Chapters XXX.-XXXII.—Speech of Calgacus.*

*"We augur victory for our arms, (1) because being the last and noblest of the Britons, who have never submitted, we are driven to bay. The plunderers of the world have now cut us off even from the sea, and in the lust of conquest seek to add our poor country to their empire."*

- 1 30. 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi ahimis est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum imminent nobis classe  
 2 Romana. Ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem ignavis tutissima sunt. Piores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus.  
 4 Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptiores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: sol omnium opes atque  
 7 inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'

(2) "We fight to save our families and ourselves from shame, servitude, and tyranny; and the previous struggles show that we can succeed, as well as that we must."

31. 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura caris-<sup>1</sup>  
simos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri aufer-<sup>leng</sup>  
untur: coniuges sororesque, etiam si hostilem libidinem  
effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluantur.  
Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in fru-<sup>2</sup> gravior  
mentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus  
emuniendis inter yerbera ac contumelias conteruntur. usus aut  
Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a  
dominis aluntur: Britannia servitatem suam quotidie emit,  
quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque <sup>3</sup>  
servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis  
terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium  
petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus  
sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac <sup>4</sup> sunt par omni  
ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas  
ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata Safar  
spe véniae, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus  
quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce <sup>5</sup>  
exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in  
socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et  
indomit*e* libertatem, non paenitentiam, allatur, primo <sup>6</sup> ding par  
statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros  
seposuerit.' reserv

(3) "The Roman army is a mere conglomerate of nations, kept together by fear, and will melt away at the first defeat. We have everything to fight for, they have nothing."

32. 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in <sup>1</sup>  
pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus  
ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui

vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerique, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, <sup>Wade</sup> diutius tamen hostes quam servos fidem et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; <sup>classis</sup> quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia, circumspectantes, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. Adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

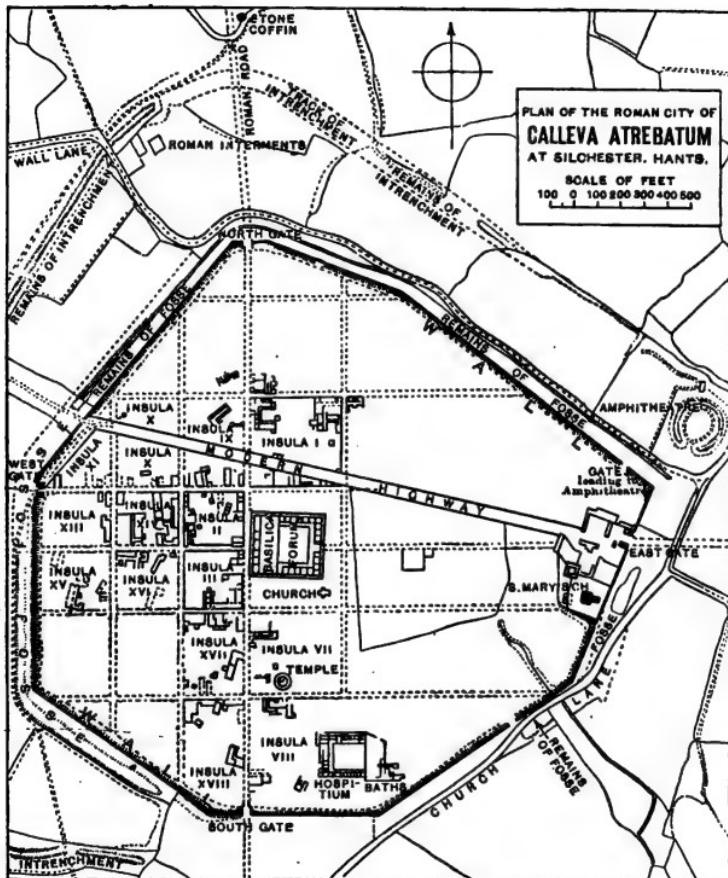
*Chapters XXXIII. and XXXIV.—Agricola's speech.*

" You have had seven years of success, and now after the greatest toil and privation you have the enemy before you: there is no retreat; choose between glory and dishonour."

- 1 33. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu-

Dumitela

simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum  
et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc  
ratus, ita disseruit: 'Septimus annus est, committones, ex 2



quo virtute vestra, (auspiciis imperii Romani), fide, atque  
opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus,  
tot proeliis, (seu fortitudine adversus hostis seu patientia  
ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus  
fuit), neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo §.

egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta. Evidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: 'quando dabitur hostis, quando animus?' veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt; neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.'

"These are the men you defeated last year; the last of the Britons, alive still only because they have fled oftenest, and fighting now only because they must. Let this be the crowning day of half a century."

1 34. 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellasti; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi 2 ideoque tam diu superstites. Quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos 3 quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi' cang

sunt; novissimae res et extremus metus torpore defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederent. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.<sup>and prior</sup>

*8000 auxiliary infantry compose Roman centre, 3000 cavalry on the wings; the legions in reserve before the camp. The Britons rest on the slopes of the hill, with the chariots in the plain below.*

35. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discussum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, medium aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitum ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constituit.

*The battle. The Batavians and Tungrians force their way up the hill and the others follow; but the cavalry can make little impression on the masses of the enemy.*

36. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevi-

bus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes, ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pug-

<sup>2</sup> nam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus,

<sup>1</sup> ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quoque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione

<sup>3</sup> victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae, ut

fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. Et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

*The Britons come down the hill to surround the Romans, but Agricola sends reserve cavalry. Complete rout of Britons. The pursuit.*

<sup>1</sup> 37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collum insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernabant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in <sup>2</sup> fugam disieisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsis versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero

patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Iam 3 hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae ~~armatorum~~ <sup>curwic</sup> paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, identidem 4 primos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum ignaros gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi 5 compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec aliis alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa 6 hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

*After the battle; despair of Britons. Roman army retires through the territory of the 'Boresti' to winter quarters. The fleet circumnavigates the north and goes into the 'portus Trucculensis'.*

38. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: 1 Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquare; miscere in vicem consilia, aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. Satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges 2 ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti

colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius.  
 3 Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae  
 vestigia neque usquam congregari hostes compertum  
 (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum requibat), in fines  
 4 Boreorum exercitum dederat. Ibi acceptis obsidibus,  
 praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae  
 ad id vires, et praecesserat <sup>Rome</sup> terror. Ipse peditem atque  
 equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa  
 5 transitus mora terrorentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul  
 classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem por-  
 tum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni-  
 redierat.

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### Chapters XXXIX.-XLVI.

#### Recall of Agricola; his retired life at Rome and last years. (A.D. 85-93.)

*How Domitian received the news of Agricola's victories;  
 his jealousy and anxiety.*

1 39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum  
 iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris  
 2 erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius exceptit. Inerat con-  
 scientia derisu fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triun-  
 phum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines  
 in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram mag-  
 namque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama  
 3 celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis  
 nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civi-  
 lium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam  
 alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis  
 4 boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus,  
 quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo  
 satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium,

*bording*

donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret;  
nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat. *had in held*

*Honours decreed to Agricola. His quiet return to Rome;  
received coldly by Domitian; his unostentatious life.*

40. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae <sup>1</sup>  
honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum



Roman Bridge on the Calder, near Bothwell.

honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis <sup>2</sup>  
missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, tradarentur; eumque libertum, in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola succes- <sup>3</sup>

sori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est.

**¶** Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

*Agricola's danger both from friends and foes; public rumour marks him to take the place of incompetent commanders on the Rhine and Danube frontiers.*

**1** **41.** Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen nullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, **2** laudantes. Et ea insecura sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia **4** et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitian quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore prouum deterioribus principem extimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

*Agricola is privately persuaded by Domitian's emissaries to forgo his claim to the proconsulate of Asia or Africa. His conduct shows how great men may live under bad princes.*

42. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africæ et 1  
 Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolæ  
 consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere  
 quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset  
 in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo 2  
 occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam  
 in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam  
 obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domi-  
 tianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam ~~com-~~ 3  
 positus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum adnusset,  
 agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficij invidia.  
 Salarium tamen proconsuli consulari solitum offerri et  
 quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolæ non dedit,  
 sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod  
 vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est 4  
 odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura præceps in  
 iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior; moderatione  
 tamen prudentiaque Agricolæ leniebatur, quia non con-  
 tumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque  
 provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, 5  
 posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse,  
 obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint,  
 eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in  
 nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

*His last illness; Domitian's eagerness for news creates a suspicion of poisoning. Agricola's will.*

43. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, ex-1  
 traneis etiám ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quo-  
 que et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum

et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetus est aut statim oblitus.  
 2 Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, adfirmare ut ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio  
 3 erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic adcelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animi vultu prece se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius  
 4 dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

*Death on August 23rd, 93. His personal appearance. His life though short was glorious; he was in means sufficient, and happy in the moment of his death, and consoled with prescience of Trajan's reign.*

1 44. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule idibus Iuniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decumo kalendas Septembbris Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus in vultu: gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis eruptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamenti praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat (opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae

non contigerant), filia atque uxore superstibus? Potest 4  
videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama,  
salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam 5  
sicut ei non licuit durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem



Bronze Vessel for libations, found at Prickwillow, Isle of Ely.  
Inscribed with the name of the maker, BODVOGENVS.

ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque  
apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis  
grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus,  
quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta  
temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam  
exhausit.

*He lived not to see the horrors of Domitian's last years and the terrified submission of the senate.*

1   **45.** Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadē strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius iam tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus, 2 nos innocentis sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

*Tacitus regrets his own and his wife's absence from the death-bed.*

3   Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum exceperisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi 4 donares. Sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valedutini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas 5 penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus;—nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante 6 quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

*Invocation of the dead. Imitation of their virtues is the best way of honouring the dead. Agricola's name shall live for ever.*

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus 1  
placet, non cum corpore extinguntur magnae animae,  
placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo de-  
siderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem  
virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi  
fas est. Admiratione potius et immortalibus laudibus et, 2  
si natura suppeditet, similitudine te colamus: is verus  
honor, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quo- 3  
que uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam  
venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant,  
formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis com-  
pleteantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus  
quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus homi-  
num, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt,  
forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per  
alienam materiam et artem sed tuis ipse moribus possis.  
Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, 4  
manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeter-  
nitate temporum, fama rerum; nam multos veteranum velut  
inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit. Agricola posteritati  
narratus et traditus superstes erit.

## CRITICAL APPENDIX

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### A NOTE ON PALÆOGRAPHY

In considering the text of any author, be it ancient or modern classic, the questions will often arise in the student's mind as to what is the cause of a variant, and on what principles we are to decide on the true reading. When we find variants even in Shelley and Shakespeare, what should we do? Having found where our texts differ, we go back to the original MSS. or the first printed copy, and then examine the reasons for which a Malone or a Rossetti has altered the text, and see if these reasons are sufficient. Similarly in dealing with Sophocles or Tacitus; but as we cannot inspect the original MSS., we must go back as far as we can (but, paradoxical it may be, yet true, mere antiquity does not give value to a MS.; the most recent may be the most valuable, if of pure descent and the representative of some good ancestor); and we must compare with our texts the notes of the scholiasts or ancient commentators and the quotations in ancient authors. Both of these, however, must be used with caution, especially the latter.<sup>1</sup>

When the printing of the ancient classics began (chiefly in the fifteenth century) the scholars used the MSS. most in favour or most accessible, correcting where they thought fit, or 'using some other ancient MS.' (a phrase occasionally employed to give weight to their own conjectures). But since those days the treasures of more libraries have been

<sup>1</sup>e.g. to take an instance from Shakespeare: the popular quotation, "When Greek *meets* Greek, then comes the tug of war", could never prove that Shakespeare did not write, "When Greek *joins* Greek", &c.

ransacked, the sands of Egypt have given up some of its hordes, authors and parts of authors hitherto unknown have been rediscovered (*e.g.* Herondas, *The Polity of Athens* reputed to be Aristotle's, Cicero's *Republica*, and the recent discovery at Oxford of a fragment of Juvenal); ancient sites have been examined, thousands of inscriptions and coins have been brought to light, giving fresh data for settling points of orthography and antiquity, the original text of decrees, &c., and, in one case, of a whole poem (Horace's "Carmen Saeculare"), recovered.

On all this extra material palæographists have been at work, have collated the different MSS., and used improved knowledge (1) to try to find the origin and relationship of the various MSS.; and have grouped them, as families are in a genealogical tree, under common archetypes, and those that show the purest descent are the best. All this is done by the closest examination of the words, spelling, &c., the errors, variants, lacunæ, and so forth all helping to show relationship.

(2) Secondly, they have studied the handwriting, methods of abbreviation, and writing material of different ages and countries; chemistry has been called in to help for palimpsests, and has removed the stewards' accounts or monks' lives of saints written over the erased classic, and thus the original has been restored. So the proximate date of a MS. can be told, and also of its marginal notes and corrections.

(3) Thirdly, they have examined minutely blunders and causes of blunders, and noted what words are specially liable to perversion. Amongst the causes are imperfect hearing<sup>1</sup> (in dictation); alteration due to misunderstanding and desire to make sense,<sup>2</sup> on the part both of the learned and ignorant; miscopying due to the eye or mind travelling too fast<sup>3</sup> (just now I wrote 'wham' for 'what am'); or due to obscurity<sup>4</sup> and ambiguities of abbreviation<sup>5</sup> in the previous writing, or to metathesis of letters,<sup>6</sup> dittoigraphy or repetition of part of a

<sup>1</sup> *egregiae* in ix. 7 (perhaps).

<sup>2</sup> x. 4 (perhaps). (The *Ath. Pol.* shows how δυλογίη was misunderstood, and the reading then corrupted in the current quotation.)

<sup>3</sup> iv. 4, *que*; vi. 4, *moderationis*; xii. 1, *distrakuntur*; xxx. 6, *terrae*.

<sup>4</sup> xix. 1, *iniuria*; xx. 2, *invitamenta*. <sup>5</sup> xviii. 5, *proprius*. <sup>6</sup> vi. 4, *rector* (?).

preceding word;<sup>1</sup> and further, incorporation of marginal notes into the text,<sup>2</sup> or acceptance of other authors' quotations as though necessarily exact.

(4) Misplacements are due to putting marginal corrections of omissions into the wrong place,<sup>3</sup> or when on a large scale, to pages getting out of order, as Prof. Cook Wilson shows happened to Aristotle's *Ethics V.*, and Mr. Housman thinks happened to Propertius.

(5) Lastly, we must remember the possibility of the author's own corrections and revision (e.g. Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*).

So in considering emendations we must see if we can thereby reconcile or explain diversities between MSS. of the same family, and further between that family and different families; we must account for the error on one of the recognized principles above referred to; and in general we should choose the rarer and more difficult word or phrase for the commoner and easier (for there would be glosses in the margin); and be very chary of accepting arguments merely from an author's style.

### THE TEXT OF THE AGRICOLA

There are only three MSS. of the Agricola extant; two in the Vatican, and of the fifteenth century perhaps, and both probably from a common archetype:

- (1) Called Γ by Furneaux, A by Halm. This is a copy of a MS. by Pomponius Laetus, with his corrections and his conjectures. (Readings from other sources Laetus marks *al* for *aliis*.) This is our chief authority for the text.
- (2) Called Δ by Furneaux, B by Halm. This is not so good, but has in places the better readings and also better spelling throughout, as the old spelling has not been modernized.
- (3) The third is at Toledo (the MS. contains the Germania, the Agricola, some letters of Pliny, &c., and is dated 1471). The bishop allows no collation to be made. (Furneaux in *Classical Review*, June 1899.)

Other authorities are:

1. Puteolanus' first printed text, about 1480, which is probably from the original MSS. of Γ (A), but much inferior to that.

<sup>1</sup> A.'s *nitem* in xxxvii. 4 (?).

<sup>2</sup> xliv. 2, *metus* (?).

<sup>3</sup> ix. 3 and 4 (?); xliv. 3 (?).

2. Orsini's conjectures (1595), which are valuable as being based sometimes on the authority of an old MS.
3. Rhenanus and Lipsius also made some good conjectures on Pomponius' text, which often restored the real MS. reading.
4. Wex's edition of 1852, till when the MSS. had been neglected.

### CHIEF VARIOUS READINGS

Ch. i. 4. *quam . . . incusaturus*; So Wex punctuates, and Goodhart (*C. R.*, ii. p. 227) follows him, making a contrast between *narraturo* (which necessarily implies laudation) and *incusaturus*. Gantrelle punctuates *quam . . . incusaturus*. *Tam . . . tempora exegimus* (and writes *fuit* for *fuisse*).

Ch. iv. 4. *acrius ultraque*. Bährens' for MSS. *acrius ultra*. The *que* (written *q*) would easily drop out before *quamquam* (written *q̄*).

*ac senatori*, Gudeman athetizes.

The words seem to have their place: 'a senator' in such context can mean 'a future senator' without any forcing; and a politician needs practical knowledge of life more than anyone else.

Ch. v. 3. *excitatiōr*, Buchner. The MSS. *exercitatiōr*, 'more agitated', is defended by Hor. Epod. 9. 31, but is considered nearly impossible.

Puteolanus reads *intercepti*.

Ch. vi. 4. *rector*. MSS. have *certior*; Rhenanus' *tenor* has been generally admitted on sufferance.

Gudeman's (*C. R.*, Oct. '97) *rector* is nearer to the MSS., out of which it may have arisen by metathesis or a change of order of letters; (and cf. *exemplum et rectores* in xxviii.).

MSS. *medio rationis*. Lipsius, *moderationis* (with *duxit*); Gudeman, *medio moderationis*, &c., the error perhaps due to *mode* being omitted after *medio* (*modo*). (*Ratio*=reasonable expenditure, is difficult.)

Ch. ix. 3. *nullam . . . personam*: so MSS., which Gudeman keeps, understanding *egit*, the usual word for acting a part: *egit* is also omitted in xix. 2.

3 and 4. Hachtmann and Bährens have *amaritiem* for *avaritiām*, which is really included in *abstinentiam*; and perhaps we should put *tristitiam . . . exuerat* after *deminuit*, instead of condemning the sentence altogether, as many editors do because of the break in connexion between *ubi . . . personam* and *nec . . . diminuit*.

7. *egregiae*, Puteolanus; *grecie*, A; *grate*, B. Ritter has *iam tum* for MSS. *tum*.

Ch. x. 4. A has *et universum fama est transgressis.*  
B „ *et in universum fama est transgressus.*

Schele reads *et in universam*, and Rhenanus *transgressa* (i.e. ‘the current account has been extended to the whole land’). The text is Doederlein’s.

Ch. xi. 2. *vi*, Rhenanus; *usu*, MSS. (which makes good sense).

4. Gudeman in accepting *persuasiones* for *persuasione* (MSS.) puts *ac* before *superstitionum* (to avoid the asyndeton with *sacra*).

Ch. xii. 1. MSS., *trahuntur*; Heinsius, *distrrahuntur* (*dis* having dropped out after *studiis*).

Ch. xiii. 4. *velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae*, A.

*velox ingenii, mobilis penitentiae*, B.

*velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentia*, Puteolanus; &c.

5. *auctor iterati operis* is Wex’s reading for *auctoritate operis*. Madvig proposes *iterandi*, Ritter *patrati*; and there are others.

Ch. xv. 3. *manum*. A corr. *manus*. Meiser, *enim*. Wex omits *servos*, and punctuates *alterius manum, centuriones alterius*. Others omit *manum*.

5. *integris*, inserted by Acidalius. (*illis* by Peerklamp = the Britons of old.) Cf. ch. xxxi. end, *nos integri . . . primo congressu ostendamus*. Moreover, the opposition of *integri* and *miseri* is found in Cic. Murena, § 50; and an opposition of the kind seems wanted, especially after the suggestion of possible defeat at first, in *neve . . . pavescerent*.

Ch. xvi. 2. *proprius*: so Rhenanus for the MSS. *proprius*, which would grammatically go with *agitabat*, ‘affected them more closely’, but in sense with *timor*, ‘being closer at hand’ (than when he was at Mona).

*ne quamquam*, corr. for MSS. *nequaquam* (which if correct would make this a separate sentence, and require *consulebat*). Yet *ne* seems wrong to some; therefore *ni* for *ne*, Wex and Orelli (as protasis to *quani . . . restituit*, and with *tenentibus . . . agitabat* as parenthesis; *restituit* = *restituisset*).

*cuiusque*, Wex for MSS. *eiusque*; *exercitusque*, Mützell, as though MSS. had *ētusque*, which seems an excellent and likely reading (*ut* would then go with *ultor*, ‘in the character of avenger’).

5. *pacti . . . essent*. Halm adds the *essent* (or *esset*) wanting in MSS.

Ch. xvii. 3. *obruisset . . . sustinuitque*. A lacuna is marked here by some editors, and has been filled in various ways: *nisi immaturo fato obriisset*, Kritz; *nisi . . . invidia revocatus esset*, Nipperdey. And the *que* is questioned by most editors; Gudeman (*C. R.*, Oct. ’97) retains it, rightly, I think, as = *sed*; cf. xiv. 3, *isque . . . extinctus est*.

Ch. xviii. 4. *dubiis*, MSS.; *subitis*, Gronovius.

5. *proprius*, Wex; *prius*, A; *prius*, B; *patrius*, Halm.

Ch. xix. 1. *iniuriae*. Puteolanus' emendation for *incuriae*, which would mean 'careless neglect'. Cf. ch. xx. (This reverses the rule of MSS. changes; for *incuriae* is more likely to have been altered to *iniuriae* by copyists than the other way, being the less common word.)

2. *primum*. A has *primam*, and Gudeman defends it (*C. R.*, Oct. '97), and compares similar attraction in ch. xxiv. 1, *nave prima*. Ann. xiv. 10, and xii. 19. 6, &c.

4. *aequalitate*. Puteolanus for *inequalitate* (which is not an unsuitable word for fair taxation, 'fair unevenness', 'graduation of burdens'). Muretus gives *aequitate*.

*ac ludere*, MSS. reading. Wex, *ac luere*; Heraeus, *ac liceri*; Hutter, *ac recludere*; Urlich, *auctiore*.

Ch. xx. 2. *multus*. Now read for *multum*, B and corr. A.

2. *invitamenta*. Acidalius and Lipsius for MSS. *irritamenta*. Perhaps *incitamenta*, as in xxxii.

3. *ut . . . pars*. *Illacesita transiit*, Susius; for MSS. *ut . . . pars illacesita transierit*. (*Transierit* would have been a correction for *transiit*, taken with *ut* in the sense of 'so that'; whereas Susius' reading takes *ut=quanta*, 'as no newly-conquered portion had ever before been'.) Weissenborn inserted the necessary *pariter* after *pars*.

Ch. xxii. 3. *crebrae eruptiones*, put by Halm after *hiems*; by MSS. after *desertum*.

Ch. xxiv. 2. *differ in melius aditus* MSS.

*differunt*, Rhenanus.

*differ* } *melius aditus* { Wex.  
*differunt* } *melius aditus* { Orelli.

*differ* } *interiora parum melius aditus* { Ritter.  
*differunt* } *interiora parum melius aditus* { Halm.

Of these the MSS. reading is strange and unlikely, as seems generally agreed: *interiora parum* is unwarranted, and has met with little favour. Could we not translate 'have become better known (than formerly)'? and perhaps change *in* to *iam* (cf. xxxi. 5).

Ch. xxv. 1. *hostibus*, Becker, followed by Halm.

*hostilis*, MSS.; i.e. Roman.

*hostili exercitu*, Rhenanus; i.e. a British army.

Ch. xxvii. 3. *se . . . victos*, Brotier's addition, from Hist. ii. 44.

*elusos*, Kritz.

*superati*, Ritter.

Ch. xxviii. 2. *retro remigante*, Gudeman (*C. R.*, Oct. '97), for MSS. *remigante* (= 'directing the rowing'), *retro* falling out because of *re* following. Other proposals are *remeante*, *regente*, *morigerante* (Wex), *refugiente*, *renatante*, &c.; *renavigante*, Mützell and Halm.

3. *cd aquandum*, &c. Halm's reading for MSS. *ad aquam atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque*, (*utilia* being Selling's); Ritter, *raptis secum quae obvia, egressi, et cum*. Emendations are numerous.

Ch. xxx. 4. *atque omne ignotum, &c. . . . sed.* Brueys and others for reading of MSS., which have this clause after *patet*. Draeger keeps order of MSS., but changes *atque* to *atqui* (= 'but you say'), which is necessary then, the imaginary objection being met by *sed nulla, &c.*

6. *terrae, iam et.* Halm's for *terram et*; others, *terrae, et.*

Ch. xxxi. 5.

MSS., *in paenitentiam laturi.*

Wex, *in paenitentiam arma laturi.*

Koch, Urlichs, *in paenitentiam bellaturi* (regret, i.e. failure).

Peter, *bellaturis* (agr. with *Romanis*), 'who will have to fight against liberty, not rebellion'.

Similar is Andresen's reading, *libertatem non paenitentiam allaturi.* (Text.)

Peter's alternative, *in libertate non in paenitentia bellaturi.*

Wölfflin, *in patientiam bellaturi* (taken by Halm), which seems to get an antithesis without much point, 'who will fight to secure liberty, not (a return to) subjection', as the Iceni had done; cf. *veteri patientiae restituit* in xvi.

(Andresen's seems to me the best, and gives a natural form of expression with a reference to the Iceni's rebellion; but Furneaux thinks some addition is wanted. There is an apparently superfluous *in* in xxiv. 2, which may be for *iam*; perhaps the *in* here is also for *iam*.)

Ch. xxxii. 3. *numero, circum trepidos*, is the MSS. reading in which Anquetil reads *locorum* for *circum*. Heumann omits *circum*, as being borrowed from next line. I have united *circum* with *spectantes*, as Halm seems to have meant.

Ch. xxxiii. 2. *vestra* inserted by Nipperdey. It is not needed: 'by valour' would necessarily mean 'by your valour' (with *vicistis*). Perhaps, as Gudeman (*C. R.*, May, '99) shows, we should transpose *vestra* and *nostra* on the analogy of Xen. Hell. i. I. 27.

4. *animus*, MSS. *acies*, Rhenanus.

Ch. xxxiv. 3. *extremus*, &c.

MSS., *et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem.*

Ritter, " " " *torpor* " "

Wex, *extremo metu corpora defixere.*

Schoemann, *et extremus metus torpore defixere aciem.* (Text.)

Gudeman, *et extremus metus corpora defixere.*

Bezzenberger, *novissimi haesere et extremo metu ac torpore defixere aciem.*

Schoemann's (cf. Livy ix. 2. 10) and Gudeman's seem best,

Ch. xxxv. 2. *bellandi*. So MSS. Halm has Rhenanus' *bellanti*, and Schütz *bellantibus*. Both unnecessary.

3. *conxi*. Puteolanus *connexi*; *convexi*, MSS. (cf. Claud. Cons. Hon. 6. 614, *vulgus convexum*, sitting in the theatre).

Ch. xxxvi. 1. *parva . . . gerentibus*, rejected by Wex.

*nam . . . tolerabant*, rejected by Haase.

*parva . . . tolerabant*, rejected by Nipperdey.

Wex may be right, as the words repeat *ingentibus . . . caetris*.

3. *ut*, inserted by Doederlein; *ubi* by Wex; or read *fugere enim. aequa nostris iam*, Anquetil's for MSS. *equestres ea enim; equestris ea iam*, Haase; *equestris ei*, Andresen.

*aegre clivo instantes*, Schoemann, &c., for *egra diu aut stante* of MSS.

*aegre se sustentantes*, H. Schütz.

*aegre clivum eluctantes*, Cornelissen.

Ch. xxxvii. 4. *identidem*=repeatedly, Hutter; *item*, B; *nitem*, A; *idem*, Goebel; *iterum*, Dronke; *inde*, Ritter.

*gnari*, Dronke; *ignari*, MSS.; *ignaros*, Puteolanus; *ignaros gnari*, al. (cf. Livy xxii. 31. 4).

*persultare*, Rhenanus for *persultari* and *perlustrari*; Ulrichs, *perlustrare*; Cornelissen, *perscrutari*.

Ch. xxxviii. 2. *secreti*, MSS.; *deserti*, Ernesti. *Secreti*, in the sense of 'deserted', has no parallel.

5. *unde*, &c., MSS. reading.

Madvig reads *proximo anno*,  
 Pichena, *litore* for *latere*, } adopted by Halm.  
 Madvig, *reditura erat*,

Ch. xl. 4. *hausit*. So Wex for MSS. *auxit* (the nearest parallel is *libertatem hausit*, Hist. iv. 5); but it keeps up the metaphor of *temperaret*.

Ch. xli. 3. *ceterorum*, Grotius; *eorum*, MSS.; *aliorum*, ed. Bipont; and other proposals. Bach marked a lacuna, which Halm fills with *quibus exercitus committi solerent* (omitted through scribe's eye catching the next *quibus*).

Ch. xlii. 3. Mommsen, *proconsuli consulari*, *proconsulare*, Bleterius, for MSS. *proconsulari*.

5. *excedere*. Lipsius writes *escendere* (so Halm); Wex, *eorum laudes excedere qui*.

Ch. xlili. 2. *ut*, added by Wex, but before *adfirmare*; *nec adfirmare*, Ernesti.

3. *animi vultu*, Gudeman (C. R., Oct. '97), for MSS. *animo vultuque*. He compares Cic. Verr. i. 8. 21, *animi dolorem vultu*

*tegere*, and Curt. vi. 9. 1, *vultu praeferens dolorem animi*. Ernesti, *habitu*; Mohr, *sermone*. Furneaux also accepts Gudeman's reading.

Ch. xliv. 2. *nihil impetus*, A; *nihil metus*, A, in margin; *nihil metus et impetus*, B; *nihil imperiosi*, Weidner.

3. *quippe*, &c. The MSS. reading is *speciosae non contigerant filia...superstitibus*. *non* is omitted by A (marg.), and by most editors, without sufficient reason. Gudeman (*C. R.*, Oct. '97) puts *opibus...contigerant* before *quippe*, and attaches *filia...superstitibus* to *poterat*, which gives excellent sense. Furneaux thinks *tamen*, rather than *quippe*, would then be required. Could we not get the same sense that Gudeman gives by *poterat (opibus [enim] nimiis...contigerant) filia...superstitibus?* *enim* is not necessary, but may have dropped out before *nimiis*.

Doederlein puts *filia*, &c., after *fama*. This makes good sense, and is rather like Pliny's (Ep. i. 12. 11) *decessit superstibus suis, florente re publica*.

5. *sicut ei...durare*. It is almost universally agreed that a lacuna lies between *ei* and *durare*, or at *videre*. Dahl gives *non licuit*. H. Schütz puts *non contigit*. Either would do.

Ch. xlv. 1. [*iam*] *tum*, A; *tum*, B (which seems sufficient); *etiam tum*, Gronovius; *nondum*, Gudeman.

*divisimus*. Marginal conject. of A has *Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus* for the impossible *Maurici Rustique visus*. The latter is explained by saying there is a zeugma, that *pudore affecit* or *horrore affixit*, for instance, must be supplied from *sanguine perfudit*.

Ch. xlii. 2. *et immortalibus*; so Acidalius for *temporalibus* (before which *quam* is needed).

*similitudine*; so Grotius for MSS. *militum* and *multum*. Heinsius; *aemulatu*.

*colamus*, Muretus, for *decoramus*; Ursinus, *decoremus*; Gudeman, *te colamus* (omitting *te* after *admiratione*).

## NOTES

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(N.B. The references to *other* books are inserted for purposes of verification, and are not needed by the ordinary student.)

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### CHAPTER I.

§ 1. The construction is: *Ne nostris quidem temporibus aetas (quamquam incuriosa suorum) omisit tradere posteris facta moresque clarorum virorum antiquitus usitatum*.

**antiquitus usitatum**: for rel. clause, 'a practice common in former days'.

**temporibus . . . aetas**. There is here an awkward repetition of the same idea (tautology), due to a desire for antithesis between *antiquitus* and *nostris temporibus*: it is as though he said, 'in our days the men of the time'. (Notice the abstract *aetas* for the concrete.)

**quamquam . . . aetas**, 'a generation, though heedless of its own history or great men'. *suorum* may be masc., but is more probably neut. (Notice *quamquam* without verbal construction, like *quamvis* in classical Latin; cf. xvi. 2, xxxiii. 1, &c.)

**quotiens**, &c., explaining *ne . . . quidem omisit*; 'not neglected it, that is, on the occasions when, &c.'

**ignorantium recti**, 'want of appreciation of virtue'.

§ 2. **agere . . . memoratu**, 'the performing of memorable actions'. (Notice the supine with *digna* instead of a relative-clause.)

**pronum . . . erat**, 'was easy, and had a freer field'. Cf. ch. xxxiii. 4. (In Sallust *magis in aperto* = 'plainer').

**ingenio**, with **celeberrimus quisque**. 'The foremost in (literary) genius.'

**gratia aut ambitione**, 'partiality or self-display'.

**bonae . . . ducebatur**, 'was induced merely by the reward of a good conscience'.

(To what times Tacitus refers cannot now be ascertained; perhaps the golden age.)

**§ 3. ipsi.** *se* might be expected as subj. to *narrare*, or *ipsorum* as gen. after *vitam*. *Ipsi* is nom. by attraction to *plerique*.

**fiduciam morum**, 'confidence in their character'. (They knew their life was worth relating, and would be appreciated properly.)

**Rutilius.** P. Rutilius Rufus, consul of B.C. 105; as proconsul of Asia he protected the people against the iniquitous demands of the tax-farmers; these on his return to Rome took revenge by charging him with extortion, and driving him into banishment at Smyrna.

**Scaurus.** M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul of B.C. 115, 107; he was generally spoken of as a model of republican virtues; but when Jugurtha, to secure his throne of Numidia, bribed the leading men of Rome, Scaurus, it is said, withdrew his opposition only on receiving a higher bribe than his fellow-senators.

**citra fidem . . . fuit.** Tr. 'caused them to be discredited or disparaged'.

(Tacitus (like Sallust) is fond of varying the constructions in co-ordinate sentences or parts of sentences; cf. Hist. i. 64. 2, *in gaudium aut formidine permotus*; 60. 4, *per avaritiam ac sorde contemptus*; and for *citra=sine*, cf. Germ. 16, *citra speciem aut delectationem*, 'without beauty or charm').

**optime . . . facillime.** The double superlative gives the sense of strict proportion. 'Virtues are best appreciated at the periods when they are most prolific.'

**§ 4. venia opus fuit**, 'an apology has been needed'. The section sums up the preceding part of the chapter.

**tempora**, *i.e.* the times in which Agricola lived: supply *fuerunt*. Virtues would not be expected in the days of 'the bald-headed Nero', Domitian: see Critical Appendix, and Appendix 'On the Purpose of the Agricola'.

## CHAPTER II.

**§ 1. Legimus**, 'we find recorded' (in the *acta senatus*).

**Aruleno Rustico** was tribune of the plebs in A.D. 66, the year of the condemnation of his friend and master, Paetus Thrasea, on whom afterwards he wrote a panegyric; for this he was put to death by Domitian in 93 or 94. He was a friend of Pliny, and is mentioned again in *xlv.*, and often in Pliny's letters (*e.g.* *iii. 11. 3*). Suetonius (*Dom. 10*) implies that he also expressed approval of Helvidius' opposition to Vespasian. (Notice the dative of the agent.)

**Paetus Thrasea**; a high-minded senator who followed the Stoic philosophy, and by his fearless opposition to Nero, won that tyrant's enmity. The obsequious senate at Nero's orders condemned him to death in 66. In the *Annals*, *xvi. 21-35*, Tacitus gives a striking account of his end.

**Herennio Senecioni**; put to death by Domitian in 94 or 95 for writing life of Helvidius, accused by Metius Carus; friend of Pliny. (Cf. Pliny, Ep. vii. 19. 5, 33. 4; i. 5. 3; iii. 11. 3; iv. 7. 5, 11. 12.)

**Priscus Helvidius**, son-in-law of Thrasea; put to death by Vespasian in 73 for his perverse opposition. (Tac., Hist. iv. 5; Pliny, Ep. vii. 19. 3; Juv. v. 36.) (His son is mentioned in ch. xlv.)

**triumviris**, 'the public executioners' (for lower classes, and so an additional insult to the books). Ordinarily the burning of the books would have been the duty of the aediles.

**comitio ac foro**, here probably the same. The *comitium* was the ancient place of punishment; it adjoined the forum.

**urerentur**; so too John Wilkes' pamphlet was burnt by the common hangman.

**§ 2. libertatem**, 'free expression of opinion'.

**conscientiam**, 'the world's knowledge of the facts' (cf. Ann. iv. 35. 6, *sequentis aevi memoriam*); or 'the sympathy of the human race' (Furneaux).

**arbitrabantur**. The subject is 'Domitian and his advisers'.

**sap. professoribus**. Astrologers and philosophers (Stoics chiefly) were banished by D. in 93 from Rome (Suet., Dom. 10; and Pliny, Ep. iii. 11. 2), as being thought dangerous to the throne. Hadrian erred in the other extreme, and encouraged all kinds of pretenders about him.

**omni bona arte**, 'all liberal accomplishments'.

**honestum**, &c., 'lest virtue in any shape should confront them' (and put them to shame).

**§ 3. grande . . . documentum**, 'we presented in truth an exhibition of abjection on a large scale'. (*patientia* in a bad sense.)

**ultimum in libertate**, 'the zenith of civil liberty'.

(**ultimum**) **in servitute**, 'the nadir of public subjection'.

(Or *ultimum* may mean 'the extreme', then *in libertate* would refer to the lawlessness of the last days of the republic.)

**inquisitiones**, 'the system of espionage and denunciation' carried on by the informers (*delatores*).

### CHAPTER III.

**§ 1. et quamquam**; with subj. (for the indic. of Ciceronian age). *et* = 'and yet'. Cf. ix. 3 and xxxviii. 4.

**saeculi**, 'epoch', i.e. reign.

**Nerva** (A.D. 96-98). M. Cocceius Nerva, a jurisconsult of Rome, elected emperor by the senate after Domitian's murder. He was satis-

fied to provide a good successor (Trajan). The union of sovereignty and liberty was well maintained for nearly 100 years by his successors; and this first part of the Antonine age, as it is called, was the happiest and best period of the empire. The hereditary principle was in abeyance for the time; Nerva adopted Trajan; and Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and M. Aurelius came in turn to the throne by adoption. (The absence of the title 'Divus' is to be noticed, but it does not imply that Nerva was still alive, though this part may have been written before he died, and *augeat* . . . *Traianus* added before publication.)

**Traianus** (A.D. 98–117). This with ch. xliv. 5 shows that AGRICOLA's life was written in the early days of Trajan's reign. (Under the republic an adopted son took the names of his adoptive father, adding his own gentile name as an adjective. So M. Ulpinus Traianus should have become M. Cocceius Nerva Ulpianus; but under the empire many irregularities had crept in. Cf. vi. 2.)

**spem ac votum**, 'hopes and prayers'.

**securitas publica . . . adsumpserit**. A personification (found also on coins) of *publica securitas*; it is said here to put on the hopes, &c., which are felt for it. (*adsumpserit* has to do duty as verb to both clauses; but being unsuitable to *spem ac votum* we must supply *concepserit* instead: an instance of the figure called zeugma.) Tr. 'The sense of public security has begun to gather (or ripen into) not merely hopes, &c.'

**voti fiduciam ac robur**, 'the assurance and stability of a prayer fulfilled'.

**tardiora**, 'are slower to take effect'.

**lente . . . extinguuntur**, &c. Cf. Sallust, B. J., chs. 1 and 2, for similar language and ideas.

**oppresseris**, 'you will find you have crushed out'. (For the tense cf. Caesar, B. G. iv., *ego certe meum officium praestitero*, 'I at any rate will be found to have done my duty'.)

**ingenia studiaque**, 'intellectual and literary pursuits'.

**subit**, 'steals over us' (like paralysis).

Cf. Sallust, Jug. 2, *ingenium . . . incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt*.

**§ 2. Quid? si.** Like *quid multa?* = further. (We should in English put the note of interrogation at the end of the if-clause.)

**quindecim**, 81–96. The reign of Domitian as a whole. Cf. ch. xxxix.

**pauci et, &c.**, 'we are few, and, so to speak, survivors not only of our fellows, but of ourselves', i.e. 'our former selves'.

**ut ita dixerim**, 'so to speak' (= *ut ita dicam* of the Ciceronian period).

**§ 3. memoriam . . . composuisse.** The reference is to the Histories and the intended work on Nerva and Trajan (Hist. i. 1).

**§ 4. professione pietatis,** 'for its display of filial affection'.

## CHAPTER IV.

**§ 1. Iulius,** a common name among Gauls under the early empire. Julius Caesar had given not only Roman citizenship but senatorial rank to many Gauls, and his successors continued this policy; hence the frequency of the name.

**Foroiuliensium;** of Forum Iulii (Frejus), in Liguria, a colony founded by Julius Caesar; the western harbour for Augustus' fleet.

**procuratorem Caesarum,** fiscal administrators in the provinces for the emperor: (1) in imperial provinces (with subordinate procurators, who were often freedmen of the emperors), they managed all the finances =quaestors of senatorial provinces; (2) in senatorial provinces, they managed the part that concerned the emperor's dues alone; (3) in minor districts, they had entire charge, e.g. Felix and Festus (of the Acts) in Judaea.

**quae equestris nobilitas est,** 'which gives equestrian rank'. The meaning is disputed; whether a procuratorship gave a man (1) the rank of the higher knights (equites splendidi), or (2) the ordinary rank of knight. (Cf. Hist. i. 13, ii. 57, where knighthood is given to two freedmen.) In any case, we see the rise of a new nobility more immediately dependent on the sovereign, as under our Henry VII.

**Graecinus,** made a senator by Tiberius, and put to death by Caligula for the reason here assigned, A.D. 38.

**eloquentiae,** oratory or well-expressed language in general. He wrote a treatise on vine-culture.

**Silanum,** father of Junia Claudilla, Caligula's first wife; had been proconsul of Asia. Suetonius says Caligula ordered him to cut his throat, because instead of accompanying him to sea Silanus had stayed behind with the purpose of seizing the city if he were drowned. Silanus had merely wished to avoid sea-sickness.

**§ 2. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus,** 'brought up under her maternal and loving care'; or blending the two co-ordinates into one idea (hendiadys), 'in her loving nurture', i.e. nursed by the mother herself.

**per omnem . . . cultum,** 'in the acquisition of all liberal accomplishments'. (*honestae artes*, accomplishments suitable to persons of quality.)

**§ 3. Arcebat.** Subject is the *quod*-clause.

**peccantium.** We should use the abstract, 'of vice'. Tr. 'He

was shielded from the snares of vice, not only by his own natural goodness and integrity, but also by the fact that', &c.

**sedem ac magistrum studiorum**, 'scene and guide of his studies'.

**Massilia.** Marseilles was valued even in Cicero's time (pro Flac. 26. 63) for its *disciplinam atque gravitatem*, and was a rival of Athens for Greek culture. Lyons and Bordeaux also became famous for schools: e.g. Ausonius, the poet and tutor of the emperor Gratian, 4th century, came from the latter place.

**locum . . . compositum**, 'a place that blended in happy combination Greek refinement with provincial simplicity'. Massilia was in fact a colony of Greek Phocaeans.

**§ 4. acrius ultraque . . . ac senatori**: see Critical Notes: 'with too much enthusiasm, and beyond the right limits for a Roman senator'. Gudeman (*C. R.*, May '99) compares Suet. Nero 52, where Agrippina turns her son from philosophy, *monens imperaturo contrarium esse*.

(The Romans studied philosophy for the sake of its practical bearing on life and character. So Cicero, instead of taking Aristotle's Ethics as the basis of his 'de Officiis', chose Panaetius' treatise as more suitable for the practical maxims which he built upon it. He also in the 'Pro Murena' twists Cato with his unpractical stoicism.)

**hausisse**, for *hausturum fuisse*, just as Tacitus writes the vivid *hauserat* for *hausisset*; like Virgil's *impulerat ferro si mens non laeva fuisse*. (Cf. xiii. 4; xxxi. 5; xxxvii. 1.)

**§ 5. sublime**, &c.: 'his lofty and spiritual nature aimed to reach the fair and lovely vision of a high and exalted ideal, with more ardour than prudence' (i.e. he was inclined to spend his life in the contemplation of philosophic ideas). Notice the pairs of nearly synonymous adjectives.

**retinuitque . . . modum**, 'and from his philosophic studies he retained, what is hardest to learn, the rule of moderation'. (This principle of moderation is the key-note of Greek ethics, from the 'nothing too much' of the old sages to Aristotle's definition of virtue as 'the mean between two extremes').

## CHAPTER V.

**§ 1. Prima . . . adprobavit.** Lit. 'he made the first elements of military service approved to S. Paulinus'; i.e. 'he served his military apprenticeship to the satisfaction of S. Paulinus' (Tac. Ann. xiv. 29, *sqq.*).

**Suetonio Paulino**: see on ch. xiv.

**moderato**, perhaps 'methodical', or 'cautious'.

**electus . . . contubernio**, 'being selected for trial on a staff-

appointment'; literally, 'chosen as one whom he might appraise by companionship'.

Young men of family were taken into the retinue of the commander, and lived in his quarters, sometimes merely as a means of seeing something of life, without any intention of becoming soldiers. An honorary tribunate (*titulus tribunatus*) went with the position. Caesar had many young nobles with him in Gaul, and Cicero on several occasions used his influence with Caesar to get places for his friends. Under Augustus a tribunate became a necessary qualification for a quaestorship.

§ 2. *licenter . . . rettulit*. The words really go thus: *nec licenter (more . . . vertunt) ad voluptates titulum tribunatus nec segniter ad commeatus inscitiam rettulit*.

*Referre ad*=make something the end; e.g. *omnia ad voluptatem referre*=make pleasure the end or aim of all things. Translate: 'neither from self-indulgence, &c., nor from love of ease did he make pleasure and absence-on-leave the end of his honorary tribunate and his days of training'.

*lasciviam*, 'riotous living'.

*inscitiam*=‘his inexperience’, i.e. his period of learning.

*noscere* and the following infinitives are historic.

*sequi optimos*, ‘imitated’ or ‘got attached to the best officers’.

*nihil adipetere*, ‘coveted no special missions’.

*in iactationem*, ‘for self-display’ or ‘self-exaltation’.

*anxious et intentus*, ‘cautious and energetic’. (*Anxius* implies he did not despise the enemy. For the sense of ‘careful’, cf. Quintil. Pr. 8, *comparandi anxietas*.)

§ 3. *excitatiōr*, ‘more troubled’, ‘in a greater ferment’. See Critical Appendix.

*magis in ambiguo*. Cf. *magis in aperto* (i. 2), ‘more insecurely held’.

*coloniae*. Lipsius reads ‘colonia’. Camulodunum (Colchester) was the only one then (Tac. Ann. xiv. 31. 5; 33. 1 and 4); but he probably includes loosely Verulamium and Londinium.

*intersepti*, ‘separated’. See Critical Appendix.

*tum . . . mox*, ‘at first’ . . . ‘afterwards’.

§ 4. *alterius*, i.e. Paulinus.

*summa rerum*, ‘the supreme control’ (or *summa* agrees with *gloria*).

*in ducem cessit*, ‘fell to the commander’.

*artem*, ‘knowledge of his profession’. In xix. we shall see how Agricola used his experience for making reforms.

**quibus**, 'in which an ill-construction was put on eminent men', or, as we should say, 'on their deeds': *e.g.* Nero from jealous motives recalled Corbulo from Armenia (Hist. ii. 76); and Tiberius recalled Germanicus from Germany.

## CHAPTER VI.

**§ 1. splendidis natalibus**, 'an equestrian family'. *Splendidus* is specially applied to the knights. *Natales*, as subst., belongs to Silver Latin.

**ad maiora nitenti**, 'in his rise to greatness'.

**in vicem se anteponendo**, 'by deference to each other's opinion', or by 'mutual self-denial'. (*Se* is governed by *ante*. Clearness is sacrificed to conciseness.)

**nisi quod**, 'except that', 'and yet': correcting or qualifying a previous statement, or, as here, something implied in a statement (cf. ch. xvi. 6 and Ann. i. 33. 5 and xiv. 14. 6); *i.e.* good as she was, we must remember that a good woman is unduly praised just as a bad one is unduly censured (*or* deserves more praise and censure than a man).

**§ 2. quaesturæ**. The earliest age for the office was 25: (Tac. Ann. xi. 22). The full rotation of office was thus: mil. tribunate, quaestorship, aedileship or plebeian tribunate, praetorship, (some minor city-office), (command of legion), gov. of minor province, consulship, (higher city-office), gov. of greater province, gov. of Asia or Africa. Priesthood added *causa honoris*: Agricola's came after his consulship.

**Asiam**, *i.e.* the Roman province in Western Asia Minor.

**pro consule** = *proconsulem*: and below = *proconsul*. (It is found as one word as early as Livy, but the strict form is as in the text.)

**Salvius Titianus**, proconsul of Asia in 63, 64. He was the elder brother of Otho, emperor for a short time in 69. The name 'Titianus' he received from his maternal grandfather, for the Romans had begun to multiply family names even without adoption, and sometimes carried their whole pedigree in their names. In the time of Antoninus Pius we hear of one noble with 22 (or was it 32?) names; Antoninus had about six himself.

**quorum neutro**, 'by neither fact', *i.e.* neither province nor pro-consul, as explained in the next words.

**quamquam**, with subj. Even in Livy the distinction of mood with *quamvis* and *quamquam* is not kept; *quamvis* is even frequently used with indic.

**parata peccantibus**, 'lying at the mercy of offenders', *i.e.* the submissive victim of extortionate governors.

**facilitate**, ‘complaisance’ or ‘indulgence’.

**mutuam . . . mali**, ‘connivance at each other’s wrong-doing’. As his brother Otho was a favourite of Nero, Titianus would be safer. The Roman governors under the empire were, when they dared, no whit inferior in extortion to their predecessors under the republic. (Part of Agricola’s quaestorship must have come under the upright Antistius Vetus, who succeeded Titianus in the proconsulate of Asia, 64 A.D.)

**§ 3. subcidium.** Cf. *robur* in § 1. By the *Lex Papia Poppaea* of A.D. 9 (cf. Plin. Ep. vii. 16, 2), parentage conferred special rights of precedence for office and other privileges.

**annum**, goes both with *inter . . . plebis* and *tribunatus*, (*inter . . . plebis* being equivalent to an adjective, cf. xvi. 1).

**§ 4. rector.** See Critical Appendix.

**silentium**, ‘self-effacement’ or ‘retirement’.

**iurisdictio**, i.e. his praetorship carried no judicial functions. The city-prefect, as representative of the emperor, had most of the judicial work in criminal cases; the praetor urbanus and the praetor peregrinus had the civil cases. The ‘quaestiones perpetuae’, instituted by Sulla, at which the other praetors presided, were gradually disappearing.

**inanis honoris**, ‘the vanities of office’. (et=i.e.)

**medio moderationis.** See Critical Appendix.

**duxit=edidit**, ‘conducted’. (Others take it as ‘considered’.)

(Notice that the praetors alone had charge of the *ludi*, not in conjunction with the aediles, as before Augustus’ arrangement of B.C. 22.)

**uti . . . famae propior**, ‘gaining in reputation as much as he kept aloof from extravagance’.

(*Famae*, reputation among right-minded people, not the general populace who would resent economy; or *famae* may mean ‘notoriety’.)

**§ 5. dona . . . recognoscenda.** After the great fire of Rome in 64, Nero (Ann. xv. 45) had pillaged the temples throughout the empire; much of the plunder had no doubt come to his favourites. Galba ordered a restitution of the sacred property. (Cf. Virg. Aen. viii. 721, *dona recognoscit populum*.)

**ne . . . sensisset**, notice plpf.: Wex compares Pliny, Paneg. 40, *effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus*; the force seems to be ‘that the past might be as though it had never been’; literally, ‘made it his object that no one else’s sacrilege but Nero’s might have affected the nation’, i.e. ‘the nation might be cleansed from all taint of other’s sacrilege but Nero’s’. Furneaux makes the clause consecutive and says *ne=ut non*, as in Ann. xiv. 11. 2, &c.

(For *sentio* cf. *sentire morbum, cariem*, in Pliny’s N.H.)

## CHAPTER VII.

**§ 1. annus**, personified as in xxii. I.

**animum domumque**. Cf. Byron's 'Ada, sole daughter of *my house and heart*'.

**§ 2. classis Othoniana**. In the civil war of 69 between Otho and Vitellius. Cf. Tac. H. ii. 12 and 13, for the movements of Otho's troops; the officers had no control over the men, who pillaged the country as if it were foreign soil, and Agricola's mother was not the only woman that perished.

**§ 3. sollemnia pietatis**, 'the customary rites due from filial love' (not the funeral rites proper). So in Virg. Aen. v. 605, *referant sollemnia*.

**a Vespasiano**. Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria, 1st July 69 (Tac. H. ii. 79), and almost simultaneously at Caesarea and Antioch.

**deprehensus** = 'surprised' or 'overtaken'.

There would be about three months' interval between Julia Procilla's death and Vespasian's proclamation. It is not likely that Agricola had joined Otho like his old chief Suetonius Paulinus, and he had probably stayed at Rome. The news of his mother's death would not have reached him at least for some weeks, and the country was unsettled, so it is possible that the tidings from the East reached him on the way as Tacitus implies in 'profectus', but that he did not return to Rome till after Vitellius' death.

**§ 4. Mucianus**, proconsul of Syria, who might have been Vespasian's rival, supported him, and took charge at Rome until he arrived.

**tantum**, 'only'. (In contrast with his conduct as emperor.)

**§ 5. vicensimae legioni** (Tac. Hist. i. 60 and Agric. xvi.). It was then in Britain. The commander of the legion (praetorian legate), Roscius Caelius, had quarrelled with the governor (consular legate), Trebellius Maximus, but was not able to control the soldiers, who had grievances against the governor 'and were demoralized by the encouragement he himself had previously given them'. (The 2nd, 9th, 14th, and 20th were the legions assigned to Britain.)

**decessor**, Caelius.

**nimia**, 'unmanageable'.

**legatis**, Trebellius and Bolanus. The latter was despatched to Britain by Vitellius to take the place of Trebellius, who had fled.

**incertum**, loosely attached to the previous sentence.

**§ 6. ultor**, to punish the soldiers.

**bonos**, 'amenable to discipline'.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**§ 1. Vettius Bolanus** commanded a legion in Armenia under Corbulo, 62 A.D. (Tac. Ann. xv. 3); afterwards proconsul of Asia. Appointed by Vitellius (Hist. ii. 65) to Britain.

**ne increaseret**, ‘that he might not grow great (and overshadow the governor)’; or ‘that his zeal might not grow too great’.

**obsequi**, to give due submission to a superior.

Notice the infin. for the gen. gerund. Cf. *soli cantare periti* in Virg. Ecl. x. 32.

**utilia honestis miscere**, ‘to harmonize expediency with right conduct’.

Notice the infin. *miscere*, like *obsequi*, explanatory (epexegetic) of the adjective: common in Horace; e.g. *doctus sagittas tendere*.

**§ 2. consularem** = *consularem legatum*, governor of consular rank, deputy of the emperor (so in Hist. i. 60).

**Cerialeum**. Cf. ch. xvii. As legate of 9th legion he was with Suetonius Paulinus in Britain in 61 (when Agricola served his apprenticeship to war), Tac. Ann. xiv. 32; and conducted the campaign against the Gallic rebel Civilis, in 70 (Tac. Hist. iv. 68, 71, &c.), who headed the Batavian league against Rome.

**habuerunt . . . exemplorum**, ‘his talents found room for their display’.

**in experimentum**, ‘to try him’, or (cf. xvi. and xix.) ‘to give him experience’.

**ex eventu**, ‘in consequence of’ or ‘after success’.

**§ 3. in suam famam**, ‘to enhance his own reputation’.

**auctorem**, ‘the director’ or ‘originator’.

**referebat**, ‘ascribed’.

**extra**; cf. *citra* in ch. i.

## CHAPTER IX.

**§ 1. Revertentem**, loose use of pres. partic., = *reversum*.

**divus**. The title conferred by the senate’s decree on a dead emperor. It was rather more than our ‘of blessed memory’; and there were special chapels and flamens for the service of the deified emperors. Julius, Augustus, Claudius, had received this honour; then Vespasian and Titus, and the emperors from Nerva to Aurelius; and the title was continued even after the empire had become Christian.

**patricios**. Julius by the Lex Cassia and Augustus by the Lex Saenia and Claudius (Tac. Ann. xi. 25) had added to the number of

the old patrician gentes by fresh creations from distinguished senators and men of good birth; the old patrician (*i.e.* the original Roman) gentes were in danger of dying out (like Irish peerages), and could be restored only in fiction. The ‘*rex sacrorum*’, ‘*interrex*’, and ‘*greater flamens*’ were still chosen from patrician gentes; but the title gave more social than political honour. From Constantine’s days a ‘*patricius* was a very exalted person with important privileges at court.

**Aquitania** extended from Pyrenees to Loire (one of the important Caesarian provinces under a praetorian legate).

**dignitatis**, ‘(a position) of specially high dignity by reason of the administrative duties, &c.’. (A gen. of description, defining the previous sentence.)

**consulatus**. Still an office much coveted, but without important duties; nor was it held for a full year; from Hadrian’s time two months was the usual duration: the greatest honour was to be consul at the beginning of the year and so give the name to the year, or to be consul with the emperor. The consuls who did not come into office on Jan. 1st were called *consules suffecti*. The consulate was usually the step in official career between the government of the lesser and greater provinces.

§ 2. **subtilitatem**, ‘penetration’ or ‘discrimination’.

**secura et obtusior**, ‘irresponsible and blunter’; or, ‘free from fear of censure or contradiction and duller to see fine distinctions’, *i.e.* ‘fearless of censure and requiring less acumen’.

**manu**, ‘off-hand’, ‘summarily’.

§ 3. **conventus**, ‘the provincial assizes’: the governor went on tour (Caes. B. G. v. 1. 5; Cic. ad Att. v. 16, vi. 2, &c.), and attended to the business of the province at different centres.

**iudicia**, ‘the business of the law courts’ (either the same as the *conventus* or the courts at place of residence).

**poscerent**, indef. subj. Commonly used by Livy and subsequent writers, probably from Greek influence. The indic. was used by earlier writers.

**et** = ‘and yet’, as noted on iii. 1.

**saepeius**, ‘oftener merciful’ (than the reverse).

**officio satis factum**, ‘when the duties of the day were done’.

**nullam . . . personam**, ‘he ceased to be the man in authority’. Supply *egit*; lit. ‘in no way played the part, &c.’. See Critical Appendix.

**tristitiam**, ‘sourness’, ‘forbidding aspect’.

**exuerat**, ‘was free from’. (Had put off a governor’s natural tendency to these faults. See Critical Appendix.)

**§ 4. *facilitas***, 'affability'.

**integritatem atque abstinentiam**, 'freedom from corruption and self-seeking'.

**inuria . . . fuerit**, 'it would be an outrage on his virtues' (for his virtues were positive, not negative); perf. subj. is rare in conditional senses.

**§ 5. *cui saepe boni***, &c. Cf. Milton's 'That last infirmity of noble mind' (*Lycidas*); a translation of Tac. Hist. iv. 6, *etiam sapientibus cupidio gloriae novissima exiuitur*.

**per artem**, 'by intrigue' (getting bogus addresses of thanks, &c.).

**collegas**, i.e. governors of adjoining provinces.

**procuratores**, the emperor's fiscal agents. Cf. ch. iv. 1.

**§ 6. *Minus triennium***, the usual construction (for *minus quam triennium*) with numbers. Cf. *plus septima ducitur aestas* (Virg. Georg. iv. 207); *noctem non amplius unam* (Aen. i. 683). (The length of a governorship depended on the emperor's pleasure; Tiberius, says Tacitus (Ann. i. 80), liked to maintain his appointments as long as possible; but as a general rule 3 to 5 years was the length.)

**statim** belongs to **spem**; 'for an immediate prospect of the consulship'.

**comitante opinione**, 'a general opinion going with him', i.e. with general approval.

**dari**: for the pres. cf. Caesar, B.G. ii. 32, *quae imperarentur facere dixerunt*, and Livy ix. 3. 10, *priore consilio se perpetuam firmare pacem* (as if the arrangement was already begun).

**nullis . . . videbatur**, 'not from any remarks made by him about this, but because of his evident fitness for it'.

**§ 7. *elegit***, 'has brought about the choice'.

**Consul**. Agricola was consul *suffectus* (July-Dec. 77) with Domitian. Vespasian and Titus had been consuls in the first half of the year.

**egregiae tum spei**, 'then in the glory of budding womanhood'; the genitive is descriptive; cf. iv. 1. Her age, then between 13 and 14, was the usual age for marriage in Italy; cf. Pliny, Ep. v. 16, and elsewhere; and cf. Juliet.

**pontificatus sacerdotio**. There were numerous sacred colleges at Rome, the fetials, Saliars, Augustals (socially the highest), augurs, besides the special flamens of different gods; the pontiffs were the guardians and ministers of the national religion in general, under the Pontifex Maximus (the emperor), who was supreme over all.

## CHAPTER X.

**§ 1. scriptoribus.** Tacitus mentions Caesar, Livy, Fabius Rusticus (historian of Nero's and perhaps of Claudius' reign).

Other Roman authors were Pomponius Mela (A.D. 45) and Pliny I. (ob. 79 A.D.); and Greek, Pytheas (B.C. 325), Timaeus (264 B.C.), Strabo (B.C. 24), and Diodorus (8 B.C.); (and later, Dio Cassius (180 A.D.), Jordanes (552 A.D.), who compiled from Eusebius, Cassiodorus, and others).

**non in comparationem, &c.**, 'not to bring my industry and ability into comparison with theirs'.

**comporta, with quae.**

**eloquentia percoluere**, 'have embellished with fine language'.

**rerum fide**, 'with fidelity to facts'; or 'on credit of facts'.

**§ 2. spatio**, 'in extent' (relative to other lands).

**caelio**, 'in position' (relative to points of compass, &c.).

For the sky was marked out (cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 41), and divided into regions and zones, as we now divide the earth.

**Hispaniae.** The ancients were strangely confused about the direction of Spain. Strabo places the Pyrenees north and south. The Latin writers from Caesar (B. G. v. 13) to Jordanes (Get. ii.) all elevated Spain and depressed Britain and Ireland.

Servius (on Virg. Ecl. i. 67) recognizes that Britain was once joined to the mainland.

**contra**, adjectival; cf. *statim* in ix. 6.

**§ 3. scutulae vel bipenni.** The *scutula* seems in shape to have been rhomboidal or rectangular; the *bipennis* (without the handle) was roughly like two triangles. Caesar and Mela call Britain *triquetra*, triangular, and perhaps *bipennis* is a single axe-head here, as would seem to be implied by the words immediately following.

**§ 4. Et . . . Caledoniam**, 'and such in fact is its appearance without C.'.

**transgressis**, 'when you have crossed into Caledonia'. See Critical Appendix.

**extremo iam litore**, 'with a shore-line that is absolutely the farthest'; or 'from the very extremity of the coast' (Furneaux), i.e. from the very end of the firth. ('On either side' must be supplied with *procurrentium*.)

**§ 5. novissimi maris**, 'the most distant sea'.

**tunc primum circumvecta.** Cf. Jordanes, *olim nemo, ut referat Libius, circumvectus est*; (cf. ch. xxxviii. 5 for this voyage).

**Orcadas.** Cf. Juv. ii. 163, *Orcadas modo captas*. The Orkneys are mentioned by Mela (3. 6. 54) and Pliny (iv. 6. 30. 103).

**§ 6. Thule**, the Shetlands. Mentioned by Pytheas and Strabo. Ovid's *Ultima Thule* is generally considered to be Iceland.

**hactenus**, 'so far and no farther'. (Generally used of time.) Sc. 'to go'.

**pigrum**, &c., 'dead and heavy for rowing'. The story may have arisen from reports of ice or adverse currents.

**perinde**, 'as much (as other seas)'.

**causa ac materia**, 'origin and sustenance'.

**§ 7. neque . . . ac**, 'it is not the province of this work, and (even if it were) many, &c.'. This is the force of the unusual *neque . . . ac*. (Cf. Suet. Vesp. 12.)

**addiderim**. Dubitative subj. 'I would add', or jussive, 'Let me add'.

**latius dominari mare**, 'makes its power more widely felt'. Jordanes renders this *latius quam usquam aequor extenditur*.

**multum . . . ferre**, ('bears backwards and forwards a great quantity of the river water', as with the Thames, Tamar, &c.); or better, 'strong currents set in all directions': *ferre intrans*.

**litore tenuis**, 'merely on the coast'.

**ambire**, 'winds about'.

**velut in suo**, 'as if in its own (domain)'. (This reads like a report of the firths from Agricola himself.)

## CHAPTER XI.

**§ 1. ut . . . compertum**, 'it is not fully known, as might be expected where barbarians are concerned'. Cf. Tac. Germ. 30, *multum ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae*, much method and skill, for Germans, that is; and Ag. xviii., *ut in dubiis consiliis*.

**Habitus corporum**, 'physical aspects', or 'types'.

**§ 2. colorati vultus**, 'sunburnt complexions'. Cf. Cic. de Or., ii. 14. 60, *cum in sole ambulem natura fit ut colorer*, 'as I walk in the sun I naturally become sunburnt'. (So we talk now of 'a coloured gentleman'.) The Silures lived in S. Wales.

**torti**, 'curly'. Jordanes, Get. ii., adds from Strabo, *corpora magna sed fluida*.

**posita . . . Hispania**, 'the fronting position of Spain'.

**Hiberos**, now represented probably by the Basques in Spain (for the Spaniards are Romano-Goths); but in Britain they have been lost among the Celts, though anthropologists find traces of an early race of, I believe, the Mongolian type.

**proximi . . . sunt**, ‘those nearest to the Gauls are also like them.’

**durante originis vi**, ‘the characteristic force of their origin still lasting’.

**in diversa**, ‘in opposite directions’; one north and the other south, and so coming near together.

**habitum**, sc. *similem*.

**§ 3. In universum aestimanti**, lit. ‘to one forming an opinion in general’.

**Gallos . . . occupasse**. Caesar (B. G. v. 12) says so very plainly, but Tacitus does not seem to have properly valued Caesar’s account.

**vicinam insulam**, ‘the neighbouring part of the island’. Cf. *sumimus mons, prima nocte, medium flumen, &c.*

**§ 4. Eorum**, i.e. of the Gauls.

**sacra**, &c. ‘You would find (if you inquire) their rites and religious beliefs (in Britain)’, i.e. Druidism. Cf. Caesar, B. G. vi. 13–18. But at this time the Roman religion had been taken up in the towns at least.—See Critical Appendix.

**ubi advenere**, ‘when the dangers are upon them’. (Cf. Caesar, B. G. iii. 19, and Livy, x. 28, xxii. 1 for this characteristic.)

**§ 5. ut quos**, ‘as being people whom’, &c., with generic subjunct. to express the class.

**Nam**, ‘and in fact’ (explains an ellipse, ‘as was the case with the Gauls, for’, &c.). Cf. ch. xxii. 2.

**olim victis**, i.e. those subdued in the days of Claudius (Caractacus and the south) and of Nero (Iceni and part of Brigantes). Tac. Ann. xii. 31–40, and xiv. 29–39.

## CHAPTER XII.

**§ 1. Honestior**. ‘The higher in rank drives, and his retainers do the fighting’; (or ‘A charioteer is the more honourable’, than a foot soldier, ‘and he has retainers fighting before him’ on foot). Cf. ch. xxxv. for the chariots, and cf. Caes. B. G. iv. 33. The prior rendering is supported by the word *propugnator*=marine.

**per principes**, ‘among the chieftains’, or ‘through the fault of the princes’.

**§ 2. adversus**, ‘in dealing with’; (on the Roman principle of *Divide et impera*).

**§ 3. Caelum . . . foedum**, ‘the sky is gloomy’. Strabo (4. 5. 2, p. 200): ‘Mist stays a long time in the air, so that for a whole day the sun can be seen for only three or four hours at mid-day’.

Jordanes quotes Strabo in stronger terms: *tantas illam exalare nebulas, madefacta humo Oceani crebris excursibus, ut subiectus sol per illum pene totum fediorem, qui serenus est, diem negetur aspectui.*

**Dierum spatia,** ‘the duration of daylight is longer than in our (part of the) world’. (At Rome longest day has 15 hours, at London 16½, Aberdeen 18.) Cf. Caesar, B. G. v. 13. Jordanes quotes Tacitus thus: *noctem quoque clariorem in extrema eius parte minimamque Cornelius etiam annalium scriptor enarrat*, and in Get. 3 says that to the Scandinavians the sun *per terrae marginem dicitur circuire*, i.e. passes across the horizon. Juvenal’s *minima contentos nocte Britannos* (ii. 161), and Servius’ *Britannia, lucis dives, vix quoddam spatiū noctibus cedit* (on Virg. G. i. 247), both ignore the long nights of winter. In the *Odyssey* Homer tells us of the land where there is no night and a man can earn double wages, and ‘the outgoing shepherd meets the incoming shepherd’.

**nostri orbis.** Cf. our phrases ‘New World’, ‘Old World’. So to Servius (390 A.D.) Britain is still *alter orbis terrarum*.

**exiguo . . . internoscas**, lit. ‘that you could distinguish the end and beginning of daylight by merely a slight interval’; i.e. ‘that only a brief interval is apparent between twilight and dawn’. (It is, e.g. at Aberdeen, light enough to read nearly all night.)

**§ 4. Scilicet, &c.** ‘The reason being that the flat edge of the earth, with its low shadow, does not throw the darkness up high, and so night fails to reach the sky and stars.’ Tacitus seems still to have supposed the earth to be a disc, and night was a shadow from the sun being below the earth; so he was in scientific knowledge below the learned Romans of his own and earlier times, and the Greeks of the fourth century B.C.

**§ 5. vitem.** The vine used to be cultivated in the south, and still is near Cardiff.

**patiens frugum**, ‘suitable for cultivation’. (*Arborum* has perhaps dropped out before *patiens*, and *frugum* would then go with *fecundum*.) (Caesar gives the trees also, B. G. v. 12.)

**proveniunt**, ‘start’.

**umor.** Add as a cause, the temperate heat.

**§ 6. aurum . . . metalla.** Gold is still found in Wales; silver is found with other metals; copper and tin in Devonshire and Cornwall; lead and iron in various parts. (Caesar is more specific, v. 12, but omits some.)

**margarita.** Caesar’s adventurers (cf. Boissier, ‘Cicéron et ses Amis’) expected to find Britain an El Dorado, and Jordanes still speaks of ‘rivers rolling down pearls and precious stones’, but he is quoting really from Mela. Notice the neut. *margarita*.

**§ 7. rubro mari.** ‘The Red Sea’ included also ‘the Persian Gulf’.

- expulsa**, ‘thrown up (on shore)’  
**crediderim**, dubitative subj. ‘I should more readily suppose’; *i.e.* ‘I should be more inclined to suppose’.  
**naturam**, ‘quality’.

### CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. **impigre obeunt**, ‘cheerfully submit to’. (*Obire* is applicable to *dilectum* and *tributa* only by zeugma; cf. iii. 1.)

**si . . . abaint**, ‘provided that there is no injustice’. For the subj. cf. Livy ix. 6, *sunt quidam necati si vultus . . . victorem offendisset*, and Pliny, Ep. vii. 27, *si attenderes acrius . . . reddebatur*.

§ 2. **Igitur** gives the reason for some thought suppressed. Tr. ‘now for its history’. (Put first by Cicero only when ironical or sarcastic.)

**divus**. See above in ch. ix.

**Iulius**. Two invasions in B.C. 55 and 54, as told by himself in B. G. iv. and v. His object, as with his invasion of Germany, was merely to frighten the natives from interfering with Gaul.

**litore**. He crossed the Thames (near Kingston ?), and took Cassivellaunus’ chief town, Verulamium (?).

**potitus sit**. Notice subj. with *quamquam* (not so used before Livy, but indic.; cf. iii. 1).

§ 3. **bella civilia**, between Caesar and Pompeius, and between Octavian (Augustus) and Brutus, &c., and between Octavian and Antony.

**consilium**, ‘good policy’. (Townshend, ‘masterly inactivity’.) He laid down as a principle of policy that the empire should not be extended (cf. Tac. Ann. i. 11).

**Augustus**. Servius (on Virg. G. 3. 25) says he conquered Britain, a statement which, like that mentioned in § 5, shows how historical perspective was confused in 400 years.

**praeceptum**, ‘(his father’s) command’. (Cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 37.) (Tacitus here, as in the Annals’ passages, sneers at both. Trajan was beginning, or had begun, to abandon this policy, and, as events proved, unwisely for the most part.)

§ 4. **Gaium Caesarem** = Caligula, A.D. 40. (Like Napoleon, he did not get beyond the coast of Gaul. Suetonius says he made his soldiers fill their helmets with shells, ‘the spoils of the ocean’.)

**ni . . . fuissent**. Supply ‘(and would have done so), had not, &c.’ Cf. xxxvii. 1.

**ni velox . . . paenitentiae.** Supply *fuisset*; ‘had not his capricious temperament made him hasty to change his mind’; lit. ‘hasty of repentance from capricious temperament’. See Critical Appendix.

**Germaniam.** Cf. Germ. xxxvii. 5 and Hist. iv. 15, where Tacitus again sneers at Gaius’ expedition. It is not improbable that Gaius intended to invade neither Britain nor Germany, but had prepared to meet threatened disturbances on the German frontier.

**§ 5. Claudius, A.D. 43.** He came in person after sending Aulus Plautius (Suet. Claud. 17; Tac. Ann. xii. 31–40). Jordanes (Rom. 260) credits him with receiving the submission of a great part of the island in a few days, *sine ullo praelio ac sanguine*; and also adding the Orkneys to the empire! Similarly, our historians used to compress the Saxon conquest into a few years, and represent the Norman conquest as completed at Hastings.

**auctor . . . operis.** See Critical Appendix.

**Vespasiano.** As legatus of 2nd legion. (Tac. Hist. iii. 44; and Suet. Vesp. 4.)

**gentes.** { Cf. above, ch. xi. 5.  
**reges.**

*fatis*, ‘by the fates’ (or ‘to the fates’). Cf. Virg. Aen. vi. 869, *ostendent terris hunc tantum fata*, ‘fate will allow only a glimpse of him’.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**§ 1. Consularium.** See above, ch. vii. and viii.

**Aulus Plautius,** A.D. 43–47, Claudius’ general and governor, who made the first conquests in Britain.

**Ostorius Scapula,** Tac. Ann. xii. 31–39. A.D. 47–52; the conqueror of Caractacus; died in Britain.

**veteranorum colonia.** Camulodunum (Colchester), Tac. Ann. xii. 32: *colonia C. valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.* (Cf. xiv. 31.)

**§ 2. Cogidumno.** An inscription was found at Chichester which is thought to bear his name; but it seems best to refer it to later times.

**et reges,** ‘even the kings as instruments of our domination’; or ‘our agents to keep their subjection’. So, too, Didius kept Venutius as king of the Silures; and in ancient times the Herods were upheld in Judaea, Masinissa in Numidia, the Eumenids at Pergamus. (Cf. our maintenance of native princes in India.)

**§ 3. Didius Gallus,** A.D. 52–57, Tac. Ann. xii. 40, xiv. 29. T. says he was ‘full of years and honours’, which accounts for his

peaceful policy. He had previously commanded in the war against the Bosporan Mithridates (Ann. xii. 15).

**fama aucti officii**, 'the credit of having enlarged his sphere of duty'.

**Veranius**. Legate in 58; consul in 49; friend of Germanicus. (Ann. ii. 56 and 74; iii. 10, 13, and 17.)

**excepit**, 'succeeded'. (Usually with acc. of the office, not the person.)

**isque**, 'but he'. (Cf. the use of *et* in iii. 1 and of *que* in xvii. 3.)

**§ 4. Suetonius Paulinus**, A.D. 57-62. (Cf. Ann. xiv. 29-39.) One of Otho's officers in 69; betrayed or pretended he had betrayed Otho, and was pardoned by Vitellius. Had commanded in Mauretania in 41. In Hist. ii. 25 described as *natura cunctator*.

**firmatisque praesidiis**, 'and planting strong outposts'. (Furneaux adds the construction of great roads, such as Watling Street from London to Wroxeter.)

**Monam**, Anglesey; the stronghold of the Druids (Ann. xiv. 30).

**terga . . . patefecit**, 'offered a chance for a rising in his rear'; a compressed phrase, lit. 'left his rear open for an opportunity'. (Agricola was with Suetonius, ch. v.)

## CHAPTER XV.

**§ 1. agitare**, 'discuss'. Here with direct obj. *mala*. Another constr. is *de* with abl. (Historic inf.)

**interpretando accendere**, 'inflamed (one another) by talking about them' (lit. 'by putting their wrongs into words'), or 'by ascribing evil motives'.

**nihil profici**, 'nothing was gained by meek submission'.

**tamquam . . . tolerantibus**, 'as to people tamely endurant'. **ex facili** is a Graecism for the adverb. (Cf. *ex aequo* in xx. 3.)

**§ 2. Singulos**, 'one at a time'. **binos**, 'two at a time'. (The first meaning of the words, rather than 'one each', 'two each'.)

**legatus**, the consular legate or governor. (Military chief with power of life and death, and general administration.)

**procurator**, the financial agent or deputy of the emperor. (Civil chief and collector of tribute; cf. our civil servants in India.) Cf. above, ch. viii., and Ann. xiv. 32. 7.

**praepositorum**, these two officers.

**§ 3. Alterius . . . alterius**, the legate and the procurator.

**manum**. See Critical Appendix.

The general meaning of the passage is best seen by comparing Ann. xiv. 31: *adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur.* *Manum* is taken by all commentators as = retinue, either explained by *centuriones* or for *manum et centuriones*.

(But *manum* seems most naturally regarded as ‘the hand’; cf. Cic. de Imp. Pomp. xiii. 39: *ut non modo MANUS tanti exercitus sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur.* Then *manum . . . vim et contumelias miscere* would be a zeugma (cf. iii. 1) for *manum inicere, vim . . . miscere.* Tr. ‘lay hand upon.’)

*vim . . . miscere*, ‘add insults to violence’.

**exceptum**, ‘exempted’. Tr. ‘Nothing now escapes their avarice, nothing their lust’ (or ‘caprice’).

**ab ignavia**, ‘by cowards’. (They deprecate the Romans’ courage to increase their own.) (‘From cowards’, would be dative.)

**tamquam . . . nescientibus**, ‘as though it were only for the fatherland they could not die’. (A thought suggested by *dilectus*; they could serve in the Roman armies and risk their lives for Rome, but not in defence of their native land.)

§ 4. **transisse**, ‘how few (Roman) soldiers had come over!’ (The infn. of oblique rhetorical question: it is exclamatory rather than interrogative.)

§ 5. **divus Iulius**. Perhaps sarcastic. Cf. Ann. i. 59. 7, *discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus*, where the Germans’ taunt of ‘defeated divinity’ is similar in tone to the Britons’. Tacitus is generally too careful of his words to have let the mere title slip in here accidentally.

**integris**. See Critical Appendix. ‘People have more dash before they have suffered, more doggedness when they are in affliction.’ ‘Freedom has more dash, affliction has more stubbornness.’

§ 6. **relegatum**. The regular word for ‘banished’, especially to a small island.

**audere**, i.e. ‘actually to rebel’.

## CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. **Boudicca**, queen of the Iceni. Cf. Ann. xiv. 31. The name is said to denote ‘victory’.

**sexum**, so Cartismandua was queen of the Brigantes in Didius Gallus’ days.

**consectati**, ‘hunted down’.

**praesidiis**, ‘fortified places’. (A different account is given in Ann. xiv. 33.)

**coloniam.** Camulodunum (Colchester); founded by Scapula. Cf. ch. xiv.

**in barbaris,** with **saevitiae**, 'usual among barbarians'. Adjectival by position; a Greek usage imitated also by Livy.

**§ 2. tenentibus . . . plerisque**, 'though many continued in arms'.

**proprius ex legato timor**, 'private reasons for fearing the governor'. (This may be compared with *suae . . . ulti*.) See Critical Appendix.

**ex legato**; notice this for the less perspicuous *legati* (objective gen.) of the earlier Latin.

**ne quamquam**, &c., 'lest he should (though an exceptional administrator in all else) treat them with arrogance if they surrendered, and act with too much severity in avenging every wrong as if it were his own'.

**quamquam egregius cetera** is parenthetical, and is possibly Tacitus' own remark.

**ut with suae**, if *cuiusque* is right. See Critical Appendix.

**§ 3. igitur**, because the war lingered on through Suetonius' severity.

**Petronius Turpilianus.** Cf. Ann. xiv. 39, and Hist. i. 6 and 37. Legate of Britain A.D. 62-64; consul in 61(?), and slain by Galba in 68.

**delictis . . . novus**, 'a stranger to the enemies' misdeeds'.

**eoque . . . mitior**, 'and therefore more merciful to their penitence', (*paenitentiae*, abstract for concrete).

**Trebello Maximo.** Legate of Britain 64-69 A.D.; consul in 58(?). He helped to conduct census in Gaul (Ann. xiv. 46) in 61. He quarrelled with Roscius Caelius, legate of 20th legion, and fled from Britain (Hist. i. 60 and ii. 65) to Vitellius, who did not restore him; he was mean and avaricious. Cf. ch. vii.

**§ 4. nullis . . . experimentis**, 'with no experience of camp-life'. For *experimenta* cf. ch. xix.

**castrorum** means especially the soldiers themselves.

**comitate . . . curandi**, 'the courteous nature of his administration'.

**ignoscere**; 'excuse'; a mild expression, (litotes or meiosis), for the stronger term 'welcome': cf. iii. 3, where *non pigebit = iuvabit*.

**vitiis blandientibus**, 'agreeable faults' (for they were faults that left them alone). Cf. Hist. v. 4, *blandiente inertia*.

**civilium armorum.** From the fall of Nero, beginning with the rebellion of Vindex in Gaul, to the accession of Vespasian. (Galba,

Otho, Vitellius, were masters of Rome in succession during the end of 68 and 69.)

**discordia laboratum**, 'trouble arose from dissensions' (between him and the legions with the commanders of the legions, especially Roscius Caelius of the 20th (cf. ch. vii. and Hist. i. 60), who encouraged the soldiers). (Others take *discordia*=mutiny.)

§ 5. **fuga ac latebris**, 'by running away and hiding'.

**precario . . . praefuit**. 'He acted as governor on sufferance'. Cf. Pliny, Ep. vii. 30, *precario studeo*, 'I get time for study on sufferance'.

**velut=velut si**.

**pacti . . . essent**. See Critical Appendix.

**stetit**, 'was brought to an end'.

§ 6. **Nec . . . disciplina**, 'nor did he trouble Britain by trying to keep his army in order'. (The text is considered doubtful.)

**Vettius**; cf. ch. viii. above. Legate of Britain in 69 and 70 A.D.

**nisi quod**, lit. 'except for the fact that'. This qualifies the general idea of the previous words (cf. vi. 1), namely, that the situation of affairs was unaltered by the change of governors; 'the only difference being that Bolanus was a man of integrity'.

**innocens**; free from extortion, avarice, petty larceny, &c. (of which Trebellius had been guilty).

Agricola now arrives on the scene as legate of the 20th (ch. vii.).

## CHAPTER XVII.

§ 1. **Britanniam reciperavit**, (1) recovered from the Vitellian party, or (2) recovered from anarchy, restored to order.

**duces**. Supply as verb 'came upon the scene'.

§ 2. **Cerialis**. Legate of Britain 71-74 A.D. Cf. ch. viii.

**Brigantium**. The Brigantes held what was afterwards Northumbria: they had almost quietly submitted to Ostorius Scapula, and Cartismandua their queen had given up Caractacus when he fled to her. Cartismandua then married Venutius, a Brigantine (Ann. xii. 40), and when they quarrelled Venutius turned against the Romans, but was defeated by Didius. During the civil wars Venutius again roused the Britons against Cartismandua and the Romans (Hist. iii. 45). Juvenal (xiv. 196) mentions the *castella Brigantium*; possibly he had personal knowledge of them.

**aut Victoria . . . aut bello**, 'either actually conquered or overran with his armies'.

§ 3. **alterius**, 'of any other' = *alius*.

**obruisset**. For Cerialis was the ablest man of his times. See Critical Appendix.

**sustinuit molem**, 'was equal to the burden' (of the administration and his predecessor's great name): for **que** = 'but', cf. xiv. 3.

**Iulius Frontinus**. Legate of Britain A.D. 75-77; city-praetor in 70 (Hist. iv. 39); consul in 74, and again with Trajan in 98 and 100. Author of treatises on aqueducts and strategy still extant.

**quantum licebat**, 'as far as he was allowed a free hand', i.e. by imperial jealousy.

**Silurum**, the great tribe of South Wales (cf. ch. xi.). They had been defeated, but not subdued, by Ostorius Scapula and his successors (Ann. xii. 32, 38, 39; and xiv. 29).

**super**, 'besides'.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

§ 1. **Agricola**. Legate of Britain A.D. 78-84.

**velut omissa expeditione**, 'as though campaigning was at an end (for the time)'.

**occasionem**. Cf. ch. xiv. 4.

§ 2. **Ordovicum**. The Ordovices possessed North Wales: they had been involved in Caractacus' war, whose final defeat was in their territory (Ann. xii. 33).

**agenter**, sc. *praesidium*, 'quartered'.

**erecta**, 'roused to action'.

§ 3. **quibus . . . volentibus erat**, 'those who wanted war'. Cf. Livy xxi. 50, *quibusdam volentibus novas res fore*, 'a revolution would be welcome'. This use of *volentibus* is a Graecism, and is found (acc. to Roby) only in Sall. Jug. 84. 3; 100. 4; and Tac. H. iii. 43; (with the variant *invitis aut cupientibus* in Tac. Ann. i. 59), besides this passage and the one from Livy.

**probare exemplum**, i.e. 'were ready to follow the lead (of the Ordovices)'.

**opperiri**, 'waited to see'.

**numeri**, 'detachments'. (So used by Suetonius, Pliny, Tacitus, &c.; not before them.)

**praesumpta**, 'anticipated', 'enjoyed before the time'. Cf. Hist. i. 62, *Vitellius fortunam principatus . . . praesumebat*, 'enjoyed betimes his elevation to the principate' (by eating to his soul's content!).

**tarda et contraria**, neut. pl. in app. to all the previous, or fem. sing. with *quies*.

**tarda** has trans. force; ‘delaying’, ‘acting as a drag’.

**custodiri suspecta**, ‘and most people thought it a better plan to watch suspected points’, i.e. where outbreaks were likely.

**vexillis**, special detachments, composed of legionary soldiers. (Sometimes the word means the veterans attached to the several legions; for *vexillum* is the flag of a detachment, as opposed to the *signa* of the cohorts and maniples and the *aquila* of the whole legion.)

**ante agmen.** Supply ‘marching’. Cf. xlvi. 5.

**quo . . . esset.** Rare without a comparative. Cf. xxxviii. 4, *quo . . . terrentur*; and Livy ix. 10. 9, *quo P. R. scelere inpio sit solutus*, ‘whereby (in order that) they might be free from an impious crime’; and Virg. Aen. iv. 106, *quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras*, ‘that she might transfer to Africa the Italian kingdom’.

**simili periculo**, ‘by his sharing their danger’. Cf. xxxv. 4.

**erexit aciem**, ‘put his army up the hill’. Cf. xxxvi. 2 and Livy vii. 34, *erigere agmen in tumulum*.

**§ 4. instandum famae**, ‘that he must follow up his (first) reputation’.

**ut in dubiis consiliis**, ‘as is usual (for something to be wanted) in critical measures’. For *ut* cf. ch. xi. 1, *ut inter barbaros*.

**ratio et constantia**, ‘invention and determination’.

**transvexit**, ‘took the army across’; i.e. ‘found a method of crossing’.

**§ 5. auxiliarium.** Britons undoubtedly, we should say on a first reading. In fact, there had always been a large Roman party among the Brigantes especially; Britons also served in the Caledonian campaign. The regular levies, however, were sent abroad, and foreigners sent in exchange. Others say these were Batavians.

**proprius**, personal. See Critical Appendix.

**quo . . . regunt**, ‘by which they manage’.

**mare**, ‘operations by sea’.

**§ 6. quippe cui . . . placuisset**, causal subj. with rel. pron. *Quippe* emphasizes = ‘verily’; *quippe qui* is used only with causal clauses.

**ostentationem et officiorum ambitum**, ‘parade and ceremonial functions’: *ambitum* in first sense of ‘going about’, ‘making a round’; *officiorum*, ‘duties expected of his position’, ‘official functions’. (Some take *ambitum* in the other sense of ‘self-seeking’ or ‘canvassing’, and *officiorum* as other persons’ acts of duty. So Davis renders, ‘satisfying their desire for homage’; Furneaux, ‘courting compliments’.)

**§ 7. in vanitatem**, ‘to his own glorification’.

**expeditionem . . . continuisse**, ‘nor called the repression of the (previously) vanquished a campaign or victory’.

**laureatis**, sc. *litteris*. Despatches announcing a victory were wreathed with bay leaves.

**prosecutus**. Tr. ‘report’, lit. ‘follow up’.

**aestimantibus**. Dative (or causal abl. abs.).

**quanta . . . tacuisset**, ‘how high his aims for the future were when he made no mention of such exploits’.

## CHAPTER XIX.

**§ 1. animorum . . . prudens**, ‘knowing the feelings’. (It should be remembered that Agricola was with Suetonius Paulinus in the days of Boudicca’s great rebellion.)

**experimenta**, ‘experience’, as in ch. xvi. 4, *nullis castrorum experimentis*.

**iniuriae** and **primum**. See Critical Appendix.

**§ 2. domum** = ‘household’.

**Nihil**, &c. Supply ‘did’. **publicae rei** with **nihil**.

**milites**, ‘orderlies’, more civil than military. In later times *militia* regularly means ‘civil service’, especially court-employment (so Symmachus, ob. 402 A.D., constantly uses the word in his letters). This was natural, as the ‘imperator’ ceased to command in the field. **centurionem** perhaps is their chief. (So in these days, in the ordnance, pay, &c., departments, we give to civilians or ex-soldiers the military titles of ‘general’, ‘colonel’, &c., or employ military men.)

**§ 3. exequi**, ‘follow up’, ‘punish’.

**commodare**, ‘deal out’. Cf. ch. xxxii. 1, *sanguinem commodent*, ‘give their blood’.

**poena**. Supply *uti* from *contentus esse*; (a harsh zeugma).

**§ 4. exactionem**, ‘the method of collecting’.

**aequalitate munerum**, ‘uniformity of state burdens’ (taxes, tithes, military service, &c.).

**circumcisus quae**, &c. The rel. clause = subst., and goes with the partic. to make the abl. abs.

**in quaestum reperta**, ‘devised for private gains’.

**Namque . . . fieret**. A parenthesis about the previous state of things. (Cf. Verres’ extortions in Cic. *Verr.* ii. iii.)

The corn-tribute here was (in all probability) that required for the governor’s household and the troops; and (1) as under Verres in

Sicily, the Britons' corn in some cases was rejected or not procurable, and they were compelled to purchase at Roman fancy-prices, and so pay their dues in kind (cf. Cic. *Verr.* l.c. 74, 173); further, (2) the governor appointed the place where the corn should be delivered; and the avaricious so arranged these places that the people were glad to pay an increased price to save the trouble and expense of difficult carriage; or again, he would have it brought from the cheap markets to the dearest. (Cf. Cic. *Verr.* l.c. 82 and 83, 189-192.)

*clausis*. Why 'shut'? If the above explanation is correct, *clausis* must mean that they were not allowed to see and value the corn; and they were further humiliated by being kept waiting like petitioners at the doors of grandees.

*Iudere pretio*, 'pay a fancy-price', or 'play at buying'. See Critical Appendix.

§ 5. *Divortia*, &c., 'circuitous routes and distant districts'.

*proximis*. Halm's *pro* before *proximis* is really unnecessary; for *proximis hibernis* could be abl. abs., 'though the quarters were near'.

*deferrent*, 'might have to carry'.

*In promptu*, 'close at hand (and therefore inexpensive)'; or 'a service easy to all' (Furneaux).

## CHAPTER XX.

§ 1. *famam paci*. Cf. Milton on Cromwell, 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war'.

*intolerantia*, 'overbearing conduct'.

§ 2. *contracto*, i.e. from their various winter-quarters.

*multus in agmine*, 'making his presence felt everywhere on the march'. Cf. Sallust, Jug. 96. 3, *in operibus*, *in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse*, and Jug. 84. 1, *multus instare*, and ch. xxxvii., *frequens ubique*.

*modestiam*, 'obedience' (a common sense of *modestia* in Tacitus). Cf. xxx. 5. For *modestiam* = *modestos*, cf. *paenitentiae* in xvi. 3.

There is here a very simple instance of the figure chiasmus, cross-construction or cross-antithesis; thus:

*laudare*  *modestiam*  
*disiectos*  *coercere*;

the words balance inversely to their order. In xxxvi. 1 there is an instance without antithesis.

*praetemptare*, 'survey'.

*nihil . . . quietum pati, quo minus*, 'did not give the enemy a moment's rest without, &c.'

**quo minus = quin.** (Cf. xxvii. 3.)

**invitamenta . . . ostentare**, 'held out inducements for peace'. See Critical Appendix.

§ 3. **ex aequo egerant**, 'had maintained their independence'; lit. 'had lived on equality'. (Cf. *ex facili* in xv. 1.)

**ratione**, 'system' or 'method'. (Perhaps across the Solway-Tyne line, where Hadrian's wall was built later; but Tacitus' account is vague in the extreme.)

**ut . . . pars.** See Critical Appendix.

**illacessita**; used by Tacitus only. Cf. Germ. 36, *marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt*. (In Susius' reading *illacessita* would go with *hiems*; cf. *annus aperuit* and *hiems intrepida* in xxii.)

**transierit**, 'passed under the Roman yoke'.

## CHAPTER XXI.

The civilization of Britain here described must have been really going on since Julius Caesar's days: Agricola by systematizing it gave it an impulse. Strabo (using perhaps Caesar's account) says: 'The thickets are their towns; for having fenced with felled trees a wide enclosure, there they both dwell themselves in huts and stall their cattle'. Mela mentions the use of woad, as does Caesar; and Claudian, even in the time of Honorius, speaks of tattooing, *Britannia . . . ferro picta genas* (Stil. 2. 247), which either is mere poetical commonplace or refers to the northern tribes. Mela also mentions the constant intertribal wars from lust of rule or territory.

§ 1. **voluptates**, 'the amenities of life' (Townshend).

**publice**, 'with state-grants of money'. (Calleva or Silchester, between Reading and Basingstoke, was very probably built about this time.)

**honoris aemulatio**, 'rivalry for distinction'.

**necessitate**, 'compulsion'.

§ 2. **ingenia**, 'natural genius'; **studia**, 'plodding industry'. Or perhaps better, 'to express a preference for the natural genius of the Britons to that of the Gauls, who had been trained' (and so by training the Britons would be better). Such compression is in Tacitus' manner. Cf. xxxi. 1.

**eloquentiam**, 'correctness of speech'. Cf. Juv. xv. III,

*Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos;*  
*De conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule;*

'Gallic eloquence has trained Britons as lawyers, Thule now talks of hiring a rhetoric-master'; and Mart. xi. 3. 5, *Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus*.

**§ 3. delenimenta vitiorum**, ‘attractions of evil ways’.

**porticus**, ‘covered promenades’. (Juv. vii. 178.)

**humanitas**, ‘civilization’.

**pars servitutis**, ‘another step to the loss of their independence’.

## CHAPTER XXII.

**§ 1. annus aperuit**. For the personification cf. vii. 1, xxxviii. 2.

**Tanaum**. Unknown. Mouth of Tweed, Tyne (Dunbar), Solway, have been suggested. (*Tan*=running water.)

**castellis**; cf. ch. xx. 3.

**§ 2. opportunitates locorum**, ‘advantageous situations’ (for his forts).

**pactione . . . desertum**, ‘surrendered or abandoned to the enemy’.

**nam** explains an idea implied, as in xi. 5; viz. ‘and there was no fear of a blockade for, &c.’.

**moras obsidionis**, ‘a long siege’.

**annuis copiis**, ‘supplies for a year’ (+ the strong position).

**§ 3. intrepida**, ‘without anxiety’, a word properly applicable only to persons; cf. Livy ix. 12. 8, *incautus ad credendum pavor*, ‘panic incautiously credulous’, and perhaps *securum* in xxx. 1.

**sibi . . . praesidio**, ‘each person, i.e. commander, could defend himself’, i.e. each garrison was self-protective.

**irritis**, ‘baffled’, ‘unable to do anything’.

**iuxta**; adv. ‘alike’. Cf. Livy ix. 13. 9, *iuxta obsidentes obcessosque*.

**§ 4. per alios gesta**, ‘others’ exploits’.

**praefectus**, commander of a cohort of auxiliaries; cf. xxxvii. 6; or commander of cavalry.

**incorruptum . . . habebat**, ‘found in him an unbiased witness of his deed’.

**§ 5. nihil . . . secretum**, ‘there survived no hidden feeling’ (of resentment or malice). Cf. ch. xxxix. 4.

**offendere**, ‘attack openly’ or ‘give offence’.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

**§ 1. obtinendis**, ‘in securing what he had overrun’.

**si . . . pateretur**; i.e. if Rome could ever have had a limit to her empire, here was a natural frontier found.

Here again T. is condemning the frontier policy of Augustus and supporting Trajan’s warlike designs of extending the empire.

**§ 2. Clota et Bodotria**, Clyde and Forth.

**per immensum revectae**, ‘carried far inland’.

**angusto spatio**, 30 miles or so.

**omnis propior sinus**, ‘the entire sweep of land nearer (to the Romans)’, *i.e.* the southern portion of Scotland.

For *sinus*, cf. *Germaniae sinum* in Germ. 37; but generally, when used of land, it is land about a bay.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

**§ 1. prima** is taken by Haverfield (*C. R.* ix., July '95) as neut. pl. acc. = ‘the first part of his journey’. He adds that Agricola may (as usually supposed) have crossed into southern Argyleshire, but that *copias instruxit* cannot refer to the same district, *eam partem* probably meaning Cumberland or North Wales.

Gudeman (*C. R.*, Oct. '97) takes *prima* as = *primum*, the adj. being used by attraction instead of the adv., though the order should be *prima nave*. Others take it as ‘the first ship that ever crossed’.

**transgressus**, sc. the Clyde (or Forth).

**eam partem**, Cumberland or North Wales. Others take it as Galloway and Cantire. **copias instruxit**, ‘garrisoned’.

**in spem**, *i.e.* in hopes of invading Ireland.

**ob formidinem**, dread of the Irish tribes; as a fact the Scots, coming across from Ireland, caused the Romans afterwards much trouble in the Clyde district.

**si quidem**, &c., (1) ‘since Ireland . . . will or would bring into union the strongest section of the empire’. **misquerit**, fut. perfect (Furneaux), or perf. subjunctive, as being the apodosis (of protasis understood).

(2) Others take the clause as explaining *spem*; ‘in the hopes that (the conquest of) Ireland might round off, &c.’ (But *si quidem* is generally, if not always, causal.)

**Hibernia**, called *Iuverna* by Mela and Juvenal.

The latter may refer to this expedition in ii. 159 foll.:—

*Arma quidem ultra  
Litora Iuvernae promovimus et modo captas  
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.*

(where ‘the Irish shore’ could have the same meaning of the shore fronting Ireland as in the phrase ‘the Saxon shore’, the shore exposed to the Saxons).

For the geography see ch. x.

**opportuna**, ‘situated suitably to’, ‘accessible from’.

**valentissimam . . . partem**. The western section was always

the most vigorous and supplied the best soldiers. The Romans always had a contempt for the Greeks and Asiatics of the eastern section.

**magnis in vicem usibus**, ‘to their great mutual advantage’.

**§ 2. nostri maris**, the Mediterranean.

**ingenia cultusque**, ‘character and habits’.

**melius . . . cognite** ‘have now become better known (than formerly)’. *haud multum differt in melius* would mean ‘are not much better’; lit. ‘do not differ much for the better’.) See Critical Appendix.

**§ 3. seditione domestica.** The same cause gave Henry II. his opening. (The Romans are accused of sowing seeds of dissension among foreigners, but generally they had no necessity to do that. Agricola intended to use the same methods that had already given Rome nearly every inch of her empire. Tacitus is evidently here again, as in xxiii., in sympathy with Trajan.)

**in occasionem**, ‘for the first favourable opening’; cf. ch. xiv.

**eo** = Agricola.

**adversus**, ‘in our dealings with’.

**arma.** Supply *essent*.

## CHAPTER XXV.

**§ 1. amplexus**, sc. *animo*, ‘having fixed his mind on’.

**ultra**, adjectival: cf. *statim*, ix. 6, and *ultra*, xxx. i.

**hostibus**, i.e. the Britons. See Critical Appendix.

**exercitus itinera**, ‘the routes taken by the army’.

**in partem virium**, ‘to serve as part of his forces’. Cf. Mart. x. 44:

*Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos  
Et viridem Tethyn Oceanumque patrem.*

**egregia**, ‘imposing’.

**impelleretur**, ‘was pushed forward’.

**copii et laetitia**, ‘in food and gladness’ (cf. Acts xiv. 17, and Virg. Aen. i. 636, *munera laetitiamque*; cf. ch. xxxvii. 5, xxxviii. 1, xxviii. 2, for similar union of concrete and abstract).

**profunda, adversa**, cf. Livy ix., *per adversa montium*, and Virgil, *obscura viarum*.

**Oceanus**; used by Tacitus for the German Ocean specially.

**§ 2. Britannos quoque**, compressed, for ‘affected also the Britons but paralysed them’.

**maris . . . secreto**, ‘their remote sea’, or ‘the recesses of their sea’.

§ 3. **maiore fama**, 'greater in report'; *maiore* agreeing with *paratu*, or 'with a reputation (of strength) greater still'. The chiasmus rather favours the second.

**uti . . . ignotis**; cf. the proverbial *omne ignotum pro magnifico* in ch. xxx. 4.

**potius quam pellerentur**; *quam* for *quam ut*.

Cf. Livy ix. 14, 16, *patienda potius quam proderetur satus*; and with *ut* expressed, ix. 14. 7, *passuros quam ut . . . videantur*.

**specie prudentium**, 'under the cloak of prudence'.

**pluribus**, 'several'; so in xxix. 2; (=compluribus).

§ 4. **superante**, intrans., 'superiority of numbers'.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

§ 1. **inter somnum ac trepidationem**, 'in the midst of sleep and the panic of sudden awakening'.

§ 2. **adici clamorem**, 'to be raised besides'.

**propinquā luce**, &c., 'were seen flashing in the light of the dawning day'.

§ 3. **Romanis**, i.e. the men of the 9th.

**pro salute**, with **certabant**, 'instead of for their lives'; i.e. 'not now for their lives, but, &c.'; or better with **securi**, 'no longer anxious for their personal safety'.

**Ultro**, 'in their turn' or 'still further'.

**utroque exercitu**, i.e. the attacked and succouring Roman armies.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

§ 1. **Guinus . . . ferox**, 'flushed with the consciousness and glory of this victory'. (The former is the feeling of the 9th and others.)

**Britanniae terminum** refers to ch. xxiii., but with the sense here of the farthest (geographical) bounds of Britain.

§ 2. **illi modo . . . sapientes**; ref. to the *ignavi specie prudentium* of ch. xxv., 'those wise and cautious ones of a few days back'.

**prompti ac magniloqui**, 'eager and boastful'.

**prospera**, &c.; cf. Sall. Jug. 53. 8, in *victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, adversae res etiam bonos detrectant*.

§ 3. **se . . . victos**. See Critical Appendix.

**occasione**, 'by the (evil) fortune of the moment', or by hendiadys with *et arte ducis*, &c., 'the chance well turned by the general'.

**quo minus**; cf. xx. 2.

**sancirent**, 'solemnly ratify the confederacy'.

**utrimque**, i.e. both Romans and Britons.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

§ 1. **Usiporum**, Germans of the right bank of the Rhine. They seem to have submitted to Rome only shortly before this, in 83.

§ 2. **ad tradendam disciplinam**, 'to impart the traditions of discipline'.

**manipulis**, with **inxixti**.

**exemplum . . . habebantur**, 'were attached to give tone and instruction' (cf. *copii et laetitia* in xxv. 1). Furneaux gives from inscriptions the name *campidoctores* for these instructors.

**uno . . . remigante**. This gives the reason for *suspectis*. See Critical Appendix.

**duobus**, i.e. the other two.

**ut miraculum**, 'like an apparition' (Townshend).

**praevehebantur**, 'sailed past'; *prae*=*praeter*.

§ 3. **ad aquandum**, &c. See Critical Appendix.

**utilia**= 'necessaries'. A rare sense, but so used by Sallust.

**raptum**, supine coupled to *aquandum*.

**eo**, with *inopiae*. **ad extremum**, 'at last'.

**infirmissimos**; sc. 'first', to correspond to *mox*. (Notice the acc. with *vescor*.)

§ 4. **Suebis** and **Frisiis**, Holland. (The name of the latter survives in Friesland.)

§ 5. **usque**, 'finally'.

**ripam**, sc. of the Rhine.

**inlustravit**, 'made famous', 'gave notoriety to'.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

§ 1. **aestatis**, i.e. of the next year.

**ante**, with **natum**, 'born previously by a year' (or 'in the year'); or adjectival, 'in the year before'.

**ambitiose**, 'ostentatiously', i.e. 'with studied calmness'. Cf. xlii. 5, *ambitiosa morte*, and Juv. iii. 182, *ambitiosa paupertate*. He is thinking of the Stoics chiefly.

**rursus**, 'on the other hand'.

**inter remedia erat**, 'was one of his means of relief'. (Cf. *inter siccarios eris* in Cicero.) Tiberius, too, found consolation for the loss of his son in attention to business, *negotia pro solaciis accipiens*, Ann. iv. 13.

§ 2. **incertum**, ‘vague’, ‘perplexing’ (as the natives did not know where it would attack).

**expedito**, ‘in light marching order’.

**longa pace**, instrumental abl.; ‘tested by their peaceful attitude of many years’.

**Graupium**, site not known. Forfar, Brechin, Ardoch, have been proposed. The latter is most favoured, as remains of a Roman camp exist there. Everyone, like Scott’s Antiquary, has his own favourite spot *in conspectu classis*, and so forth, (and perhaps his A D L L, or other imaginary relic of antiquity); but we can never know, and in fact we may say with Lovel: ‘Pitch Agricola’s camp at the Kaim of ——; what do you call it?’ (Not *Grampium*, as was the old reading, from which the modern name is derived.)

§ 3. **nihil**, acc. with *fracti*; ‘to no extent’, *i.e.* ‘by no means’.

§ 4. **cruda . . . senectus**. Cf. Virgil, Aen. vi. 304, *cruda deo viridisque senectus*, ‘ripe and vigorous’.

**decora**, ‘distinctions’ won in battle.

**plures**, ‘numerous’, as in ch. xxv. 3.

### CHAPTER XXX.

Calgacus’ speech in xxx.—xxxii., and Agricola’s in xxxiii.—xxxiv., are contrasted after the manner of the Greek historians, especially Thucydides, not merely to give dramatic effect but also to set forth the situation in the most artistic form. Instead of a learned dissertation from the authors on the position of affairs, we have the same put into the form of a speech, artistically fitted on to the narrative. The Greek and Roman schools of oratory and declamation had much influence in giving history this form, and the speeches themselves their tone of anticipating or meeting the opponent’s arguments.

§ 1. **Quotiens**, ‘every moment that’.

**necessitatem nostram**, ‘the circumstances that compel us to fight (or be slaves)’.

**magnus mihi animus est**, ‘I have a strong feeling’ (as we say), *i.e.* ‘a strong assurance’.

**hodiernum . . . vestrum**, a hendiadys, perhaps; ‘your unity this day’, cf. iv. 2.

**nullae . . . terrae**. This was a feeling shared by the Romans themselves under a tyrannical emperor. (For *ultra* cf. xxv. 1.)

**securum**, like *intrepida hiems* in xxii.; an adj., suitable to a person only, applied to a thing; or the word may be used in its post-Augustan sense of ‘safe’.

§ 3. **spem . . . habebant**, ‘had always a last hope and reserve in our prowess’. (For the personification cf. xxxvi. 1.)

**nobilissimi**, Agricola’s ‘reply’ in xxxiv. calls them *fugacissimi. penetralibus*, ‘the undefiled sanctuary’.

§ 4. **recessus . . . famae**, ‘our very retirement and the seclusion of our reputation’, i.e. ‘the mystery that remoteness threw about our name’. (Recessus seems to be the remoteness of the land, and suggests *sinus*.)

**omne ignotum, &c.**; now proverbial. Cf. xxv. 3, *maiore fama uti mos est de ignotis*. See Critical Appendix.

§ 5. **modestiam**, ‘submission’. Cf. xx. 2.

**effugeris**, subjunct. in apodosis, with *per . . . modestiam* for protasis.

§ 6. **ambitiosi**, ‘eager for glory’ or ‘power’.

**satiaverit**, consecutive subj.

**soli omnium**, ‘alone of all men’.

**pari affectu concupiscunt**, ‘show the same craving to possess both wealth and want’. (Cf. *avaritia . . . neque copia neque inopia minuitur*, Sall. Cat. II. 3.)

§ 7. **ubi solitudinem, &c.** Applied by Byron to the human race:

‘Mark! where his carnage and his conquests cease,  
He makes a solitude and calls it—peace!’

—Bride of Abydos, ii. 20.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

§ 1. **alibi servituri**. So, too, Usipi served in Britain; cf. xxviii. This interchange of the levies ensured the loyalty both of the troops and the tribes.

**coniuges, &c.** Cf. Ann. xiv. 31 (where he tells us of the treatment of Boudicca and her daughters).

**libidinem**, ‘lustful violence’.

**nomine, &c.**, i.e. by persons under the name of friendship.

§ 2. **annus**, ‘the year’s harvest’. Cf. Germ. 14, *annum expectare*.

**frumentum**, ‘the corn-dues’.

**emuniendis**, ‘in making roads through’. (Furneaux compares *ad rupem muniendam* in Livy xxi. 37.)

The Roman policy for securing conquests was to make roads and colonies, just as the Russians have secured their Asiatic conquests by railways.

**Nata servituti**, ‘destined by birth for slavery’.

**mancipia**, properly ‘purchased slaves’; these could be resold; **vernae**, slaves born in the house, could not be sold, except privately.

**servitutem emit**, by supplying purchase-money in the shape of tribute.

**pascit**, ‘and finds the food also’ (by the corn-dues).

**§ 3. famulatu**, slave-establishment.

**in excidium**, an allusion to the wholesale slaughter of gladiators (who were slaves), or merely to the soldiers required by Rome.

**exercendis** is applied by zeugma to *arva* and *metalla* in the sense of ‘working’; to *portus* in the sense of ‘fitting’, ‘constructing’.

**§ 4. secretum**, ‘seclusion’.

**quibus**, ‘as being men to whom’.

**§ 5. Brigantes**, really the Iceni (cf. ch. xvi. and refs. there), of whom the Trinobantes (Ann. iv. 31) are supposed to have formed part, and Camden proposed to read *Trinobantes* here.

**potuere**, with *exurere*, *expugnare*=‘were able’, but with *exuere*=‘would have been able’. In Latin, however, the indic. of *possum* and other modal verbs is regularly used in these conditional clauses.

**paenitentiam, allaturi**. See Critical Appendix.

To keep up the contrast with the Iceni—and also to continue the ideas of *integri*, *indomiti*, *libertatem*—*paenitentiam* must mean ‘regret for submission’, i.e. ‘rebellion’, ‘as men who will bring into the struggle liberty, not rebellion’. (Or, ‘as men who are to bring freedom, not repentance’; i.e. bring to our families and ourselves freedom, not sorrow for an unsuccessful attempt.)

**seposuerit**, ‘has kept in reserve’.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

**§ 1. tenent**, ‘keep together’.

**nisi si**, ‘except if’, ‘unless perchance’; like *nisi forte*, used to express irony.

**pudet dictu**. Supine in -*u* is used only with adj., except in this passage. There is a mixture of the constructions *pudendum est dictu* and *pudet dicere*.

**commodent**; cf. xix. 3, ‘lend’.

**diutius . . . servos**, ‘yet having been enemies longer than slaves’ (or ‘subjects’).

**§ 2. Metus . . . caritatis**, litotes (see ch. xvi. 4) for ‘to feel fear and to cause it is destructive to all love’.

**aut nulla . . . aut alia**; *nulla*=either absolutely none (their country having been ruined), or practically none (as they were

serving Rome). *Alia*=different (from Rome, for whom they were fighting), tr. 'alien'.

§ 3. *trepidos*. See Critical Appendix.

*quodam modo* = 'as it were'.

*nostras manus*, 'bands of our countrymen'.

§ 4. *Usipi*, ch. xxviii.

*vacua*, 'without garrisons'.

*senum*, as originally consisting of veterans; cf. Ann. xii. 32.

*male*, 'with reluctance'. *municipia*, Verulamium, Londinium.

§ 5. *metalla*, i.e. enforced labour in the mines; cf. xxxi. (So the Jewish prisoners were sent to mines of Egypt.)

*in hoc campo est*, 'depends on (the fortune of) this field'.

*maiores . . . cogitate*, 'call to mind your ancestors'. The usual sense with acc. of person. (Cf. Cic. de Fin. v. 1. 2, *Scipionem, Laelium avum cogito*.)

### CHAPTER XXXIII.

§ 1. *ut . . . moris*, 'as is the way of barbarians'; cf. ch. xxxix. Cf. Livy ix. 11, *id iuris esse gentibus dicitis*; and ix. 19, *hoc roboris erat*; Tac. Ann. i. 80, *id morum Tiberii fuit*.

*Iamque . . . proculsu*. The bustle and hurry is well represented by the rhythm of the sentence (which, too, has no time for a verb). Supply for verb 'were seen'.

*audentissimi . . . proculsu*, lit. 'in the forward movement of all the boldest', or 'of all the boldest in their forward movement', i.e. 'as they hastened to the front'.

*acies*, of the Britons.

*adhuc*, with *accendendum*, 'still more'; a post-Augustan usage.

§ 2. *vestra*. See Critical Appendix.

*auspiciis imperii R.*, 'under the auspices of our emperor' would have been more correct and more loyal. The emperor took the triumph also, giving his representative, generally, only an ovation, or at the most *insignia triumphalia*.

Cf. Ann. ii. 41, *ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii*.

*fide . . . nostra*. If *vestra* is left in, *fide* must go with *nostra*, and mean 'our confidence in you'. If *vestra* is rejected, we may confine *nostra* to *opera*. 'You have conquered by valour, under the auspices of Rome, by loyalty, and by our zeal.'

[This part is a sort of reply to ch. xxxii. 1.]

§ 3. *non fama nec rumore . . . tenemus*. (1) 'We possess the end of Britain not by reputation and prestige (or 'not by talking

and guessing about it'), but by, &c.'; (2) 'We have knowledge of the end of Britain not by rumour and gossip, but by camps, &c.'

§ 4. **animus** is better than *acies*, which is generally accepted; and *virtus* seems to point back to it.

**vota . . . aperto**, 'the object of your wishes and the occasion for your valour lie before you'. (§§ 4, 5 a sort of reply to xxxii. 3.)

**prona**, 'downhill'; 'what is all downhill work in the hour of victory is uphill work on defeat'. (Cf. Sall. Jug. 114. 2., *omnia virtuti suea prona*.)

§ 5. **in frontem**, 'in a forward march'. Sc. *progredientibus*, as opposed to *fugientibus*, 'in retreat'; cf. *per abrupta* in xlvi. 5.

**eadem**, i.e. as our enemies have.

**in his omnia**, 'in them everything we want', or 'all depends on them'.

§ 6. **eodem loco sita sunt**, 'are bound up together'.

**fuerit**, (1) fut. perf. 'will it prove to be'; or (2) perf. subj. 'would it prove to be' (with protasis easily supplied from *cecidisse*).

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

A reply to ch. xxx. 3-4.

§ 1. **constitisset**, 'were arrayed yonder'.

**furto noctis**, 'by night-stealth', i.e. 'under cover of night'.

**ceterorum . . . fugacissimi**, lit. 'most ready to run away of all the other Britons', i.e. 'more ready than, &c.', or 'most ready of all the Britons'.

A Greek idiom imitated by Milton:

'Adam, the goodliest man of men since born  
His sons; the fairest of her daughters, Eve'.

§ 2. **ruere**, perf. indic., sc. *nobis* with *penetrantibus*.

Agricola draws a parallel from the experiences of their march, which would directly appeal to the soldiers. Gudeman quotes Curtius (iii. 8. 10), 'ignoble beasts that hide themselves in their lairs at the sound of passing footsteps'. (*Ruere* could be historic infin., which is often coupled with an imperfect.)

**numerus**, 'mob'.

§ 3. **novissimae res**, 'their extremity'.

**extremus**, &c. See Critical Appendix.

**in his vestigia**, 'to the spot on which they stand'.

**ederetis**, final subj. *Edo* is the word used for 'giving a show' of gladiators, &c.; hence the word **spectabilem**, 'one worth looking at'.

§ 4. **Transigite**, sc. *rem*; 'end your dealings with'.  
**quinquaginta**. From 43 to 84.  
**exercitui**. Emphatic: the government was to blame.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

§ 2. **Instinctos ruentesque**, 'fired and with difficulty kept in hand'.

**mediam . . . firmarent**, 'made a strong centre'.

**ingens . . . bellandi**, 'which, in the event of victory, would bring great military glory without loss of Roman life'. **victoriae** is dative. See Critical Appendix.

§ 3. **conexi**, &c., 'unbroken rose up as it were', i.e. 'were arrayed in a solid mass tier above tier'. See Critical Appendix.

**covinnarius eques**. This is the same as the *covinnarii* of ch. xxxvi. Some take it = *covinnarius et eques*. For the British chariots cf. ch. xii.

*Covinnus* is a Celtic word (like *bascauda*, *petorritum*, *esseda*); seems to be the same as the *esseda* of Caesar; for in transcribing Mela, Jordanes changes his *covinnos* to *essendas*; the *covinnus*, however, had *falcatos* axes, scythe-bearing axles, which Caesar does not give to the *esseda*. Sil. Ital. xvii. 422, refers to these campaigns, and perhaps this battle:

*Caerulus haud aliter cum dimicat incola Thules,*  
*Agmina falcifero circumvenit arcta covino.*

**discursu**, 'manoevring'.

§ 4. **porrectior**, 'too extended for safety'.

**promptior in spem**, 'more sanguine (than the others)'.

Agricola rejects the advice to bring up the legions, and to show his confidence takes his stand on foot and in front of the ranks of auxiliaries. Cf. xviii. 3, *ipse ante agmen*.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

§ 1. **gladiis et caetris . . . vitare vel excutere**; a chiasmus (cf. xx. 2), i.e. the extremes go with the means; thus:

gladiis et caetris  
~~vitare~~ ~~vel~~ excutere.

(For *vitare* cf. Livy xxxviii. 21. 3, *scuta habentium ut missilia vitarent*): the abls. are instrumental, 'evade or parry with their swords or bucklers'.

**Batavorum**, a section of the Chatti (Germ. 29, Hist. iv. 12), subjects not paying taxes to Rome, but, like *tela atque arma*, reserved for battle only. Their home was South Holland.

**Tungrorum**, a Germanic tribe in Belgic Gaul (Germ. 2). Tongres in Belgium preserves their name. Like the Batavi, they joined in Civilis' rebellion (Hist. iv. 66). Inscriptions mentioning both of them, and many other Roman auxiliaries, have been found in Britain.

**quod**, i.e. a form of warfare which.

**inhabile**, 'awkward'.

**parva . . . tolerabant**. See Critical Appendix.

**complexum**, &c., 'a close grappling and fighting in a confined space'; *complexus* in this sense not found elsewhere.

§ 2. **miscere ictus**, 'add blow to blow'. (Virgilian use of *miscere*.)

**erigere**. Cf. ch. xviii., *erexit aciem*.

§ 3. **equitum**, i.e. the Roman.

**recentem**, 'for the moment', or 'caused by recent success'. (Cf. Ann. xiv. 23, *utendum recenti terrore ratus*.)

**minime**. See Critical Appendix.

**aegre**. See Critical Appendix; 'for as they gained a footing on the hill with difficulty, they were, &c.'

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

§ 1. **vacui**, 'so long as they were not engaged'.

**cooperant**, *ni*, &c., 'had begun (and would have succeeded) had not,' &c. Cf. ch. xiii. 4, *agitasse ni*.

**subita**, 'sudden emergencies'.

§ 2. **oblatis aliis**, 'when others came in their way'.

§ 3. **aliquando**, &c. Cf. Virg. Aen. ii. 368, *quondam etiam victis  
redit in praecordia virtus*.

§ 4. **identidem** and **gnari**. See Critical Appendix.

**frequens**. Cf. xx. 2, *multus in agmine*.

**indaginis modo**, 'like a hunting-party'. The coverts were surrounded in hunting with nets, men being posted at likely places; then the woods were beaten. (Tacitus knew something of hunting; see Life.)

**artiora**, 'country denser with trees'; opposed to **rariores**, 'less thick'.

**persultare** = 'range'. See Critical Appendix.

§ 5. **rari**, 'broken up', 'one here, one there'. Cf. Virg. Aen. i., *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.

**vitabundi in vicem**, ‘avoiding each other’. **in vicem**=*inter se*. **satietas**, ‘weariness’ (the disgust that comes from repletion): joined to **nox**. (Cf. *gaudio praedaque* in xxxviii. 1, *copiis et laetitia* in xxv. 1, &c.)

**§ 6. hostibus inlatus.** In the Indian frontier-war an English life was lost recently in the same way.

### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

**§ 1. gaudio praedaque**; an awkward combination. Tr. ‘because of the victory and plunder they had gained’. (Cf. *nox et satietas* in xxxvii. 5.)

**vocare integros**, ‘called the unwounded’ (to help?).

**aliqua** is contemptuous.

**separare**, obj. *consilia*; ‘took thought each for himself’.

**pignorum**, ‘their dear ones’, wives and children. (In later Latin ‘children’.)

**concitari**, roused to anger.

**§ 2. saevisse in**, i.e. ‘slew with their own hands’ (to save them from a worse fate in captivity).

**dies . . . aperuit**. Cf. xxii. 1, *annus aperuit*.

**vastum**, ‘dreary’.

**secreti**, ‘solitary’. Perhaps the nearest parallel to this use is Virg. Aen. v. 613, *secretae Troiades*, ‘left alone’. See Critical Appendix.

**§ 3. incerta**, ‘grew indistinct’ or ‘confusing’ (from variety of directions), as in xxix. 2.

**spargi**, ‘be extended over a wide area’.

**Borestorūm**. Unknown. They were afterwards merged in ‘Maeatae’ perhaps, whom Dio (Ep. 76. 12) mentions with the Caledonians as the chief northern tribes. (Can they represent an early wave of the Lettic tribes, of kin with the Borussi, Prussians, coming from the Baltic like the later invaders?)

**§ 4. circumvehi**. This word does not necessarily imply complete circumnavigation. Cf. xxviii. 4.

**vires**, ‘special forces’ (of infantry). (Cf. x. for this voyage.)

**et . . . terror**; *et* perhaps=‘but’, as in iii. 1: cf. *que* in xiv. 3: ‘but dread of them had gone before them’ (and they were not needed).

**quo**, with final subj. and no comparative, as in xviii. 3, *quo par . . . esset*.

**novarum**, 'recently conquered' or 'hitherto unknown'.

**§ 5. Trucculensem.** Unknown; probably near Firth of Forth.

**unde . . . redierat.** See Critical Appendix.

**unde** (with this reading) goes with *lecto* only. Translate as if we had *quo litore inde lecto omni redierat*, 'whither it returned after skirting all the adjoining side of Britain therefrom'.

### CHAPTER XXXIX.

**§ 1. moris.** Cf. xxxiii. 1.

**fronte**, 'outwardly'.

**§ 2. conscientia**, 'consciousness' or 'shrewd suspicion'. Cf. xlvi. 3.

**nuper falsum . . . triumphum.** After the expedition against the Chatti in 83 A.D. Domitian had a triumph and assumed the name of Germanicus (see coin on p. 11). Dio Cassius and Pliny declare it was a farce; but Frontinus (A.D. 103) speaks of the campaign, and the frontier was considerably advanced without doubt.

**emptis**, &c. The same story is told of Gaius (Suet. Calig. 47).

**formarentur**, orat. obl., depending on *derisui*.

**§ 3. in silentium acta**, 'had been silenced' or 'suppressed'.

**cetera.** 'Other talents could be ignored in some way or other, but good generalship was an imperial quality.' Cf. Gibbon's words quoted in Appendix I.

**utcumque**, 'by some means or other'. In Cicero it has only the meaning 'in whatever way'.

**§ 4. exercitus**, 'harassed': (cf. *exercita curis*, Virg. Aen. v. 779).

**quod.** The rel. clause explains *secreto*, or the whole phrase *secreto suo satiatus*.

**secreto suo satiatus**, 'and having indulged to the full in his lonely brooding, which was, &c.' For *secreto* cf. xxii. 5.

**optimum**, with *statuit*; 'thought it best'.

**favor exercitus**, 'popularity with the army'.

**nam**, &c., 'and therefore was dangerous'.

### CHAPTER XL.

**§ 1. triumphalia ornamenta**; usually called *insignia* (cf. Ann. ii. 41, Hist. iv. 4, and i. 72). They were the embroidered toga, the palm-embroidered tunic, laurel wreath, ivory staff, and curule chair; and were given instead of a triumph, which, except on rare occasions, was reserved to the emperor and his family.

**inlustris statuae.** This was usually added. The statue was placed in Augustus' forum.

**iubet**, subj. is Domitian.

**addi**, 'conveyed besides' (perhaps by some wording in the decree).

**Ruf**, legate of Pannonia in 80 A.D.

**maioribus**, 'the more eminent men'; or 'seniors': seniority would count from the consulship.

§ 2. **libertum**, freedmen, chiefly Greeks, were much employed by the emperor, and became very important as court-officials, fiscal procurators, and even governors, e.g. Felix under Claudius; cf. Hist. v. 9. Numerous inscriptions, &c., testify to their wealth and influence.

**codicilios**, commission.

**appellato**, 'asked for an interview'.

**ex**, in accordance with.

§ 3. **successori**, perhaps Sallustius Lucullus, who was put to death by Domitian (cf. Suet. Dom. 10) for calling some dish Lucullan after his own name.

**officio**, 'officious attentions'.

**servientium**, 'obsequious courtiers'.

§ 4. **grave inter otiosos**, 'liable to exaggeration among civilians', or 'unpopular'.

**hausit**. See Critical Appendix.

**cultu**, 'style of living'.

**per ambitionem**, 'by their display'. Cf. *ambitiosa morte* in xlvi. 5.

**quaererent famam**, 'asked about his reputation', i.e. 'the cause of it'; or 'missed his fame', i.e. saw no traces of his celebrity.

**interpretarentur**, 'understood and explained (his manner of life)': the obj. is left indefinite, but seems to be the whole previous account of his way of living; or, if **famam** is the object, we may translate, 'only a few could take its true measure'.

## CHAPTER XLI.

§ 2. **ea . . . tempora**, 'such national troubles'. *tempora*, as critical times, is frequent in Cicero.

**silleri**, 'to be passed unmentioned'.

**tot exercitus**. The Dacians invaded Moesia in 85 (?), and defeated the legate Oppius Sabinus. Domitian in 86 crossed the Danube himself; after his return to Rome, the army of Fuscus, the praetorian prefect whom he had left in command, was cut up.

In 89 Tettius Julianus won a great victory over the Dacians. In Germany the legate Antonius Saturninus rebelled in 89, and stirred up the Germans, and Domitian was defeated by the Marcomanni. In Pannonia a legion was destroyed in 92 by the Sarmatians. (The language with the repetition of *tot* is perhaps a reminiscence of Livy xxv. 24, *Atheniensium classes demersae et duo ingentes exercitus cum duobus clarissimis ducibus deleti occurrebant, et tot bella cum Carthaginensibus tanto cum discrimine gesta, tot tam opulentii tyranni regesque, &c.*)

**expugnati**, 'stormed', i.e. 'defeated behind walls'.

**possessione**, 'the maintenance (of the province)'.

**de limite . . . dubitatum**, 'the frontier line of forts . . . were imperilled'.

**§ 3. ceterorum**. See Critical Appendix.

**§ 4. verberatas**, a common expression in Plautus for 'dinning into one's ears'.

**libertorum**. See on ch. xl. § 2.

**amore et fide**, &c.; *amore*, friendliness to Agricola; *fide*, 'with sincerity'.

**malignitate**, 'from mere wickedness'. **livore**, spite towards Agricola.

**pronum deterioribus**, 'ever inclined to the worse influence'. *Deterioribus* may be masc. or neut., but best as neuter.

**extimulabant**. Another instance of zeugma. Supply *adhortabantur* (urged him) for *amore et fide*.

**aliorum**, i.e. of the generals and freedmen.

**in ipsam gloriam**, 'to the very position of prominence (that he sought to avoid)'. **praeceps agebatur** is very suitable here, for the paths of such glory led under Domitian to the grave.

## CHAPTER XLII.

**§ 1. annus**, about twelve years from a consulship; i.e. for Agricola about 89.

**Asiae sortiretur**. Subj. is Agricola; or Domitian (as in Virg. Aen. v. 756, *sortitur domos*, 'he allots the homes'); the subjunct. is either consecutive; or conditional (the protasis being implied from the sequel).

Asia and Africa were the best of the senatorial provinces.

**Civica** had served in the Jewish war, and had been Vespasian's legate in Moesia.

**consilium**, 'wisdom' (as to what to avoid), i.e. 'warning'.

**exemplum**, 'precedent' (for removing an objectionable person).

**ultra**, *i.e.* before he mentioned the subject. (Virgil's favourite use of the word.)

§ 2. **occultius**, 'somewhat guardedly', 'not too openly'. Opposed to *non iam obscuri*. (Notice the minute details of the narrative; Tacitus was at Rome at the time, for he left the city in 90 probably.)

§ 3. **paratus simulatione**, 'ready with hypocrisy'.

**in adrogantiam compositus**, 'assuming an air of condescension'. Cf. *in squalorem maestitiamque compositi* in Hist. i. 54.

**excusantis** ought to have an object: supply *se* or *provinciam*.

**beneficii invidia**, 'at the odiousness of the favour'.

**consulari**. See Critical Appendix.

**conscientia**. Cf. xxxix. 'consciousness', *i.e.* 'well-grounded suspicion'.

§ 4. **Proprium**, &c.; now proverbial. Cf. Ann. i. 33, *odia quorum causae aciores quia iniquae*; and Seneca (*de Ira*. 3. 29), *pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae*.

**quo obscurior**, 'the more veiled it was'. Cf. *obscuri* above.

**eo inrevocabilior**, 'the more unyielding it was'.

**famam fatumque**, 'notoriety and therefore death'. Cf. xli. 4. For *fatum*=unnatural death, Virg. Aen. iv. 20, *post fata Sychaei*.

§ 5. **inlicita mirari**, 'admire lawlessness' (and defiance of authority), such as that of Helvidius (ch. ii.) towards Vespasian.

**excedere**, 'unduly attain to'. See Critical Appendix.

**quo per abrupta**, *sc. enisi* (which Heraeus supplies); 'to which striving by perilous paths'. Cf. xviii. 3, *ante agmen*, and xxxiii. 5; *in frontem*, and xxxviii. 5, *unde*, &c.

**ambitiosa**, 'ostentatious'. Cf. *ambitiose* in xxix. 1 and *ambitionem* in xl. 4. (Tacitus in this last section is defending Agricola for his policy of non-resistance, and also his own; under Nerva and Trajan the 'martyrs' of Domitian's reign were much belauded, and the moderates censured.)

## CHAPTER XLIII.

§ 1. **Finis vitae**, &c. Furneaux compares Cicero, *de Orat.* iii. 2. 8, on the death of Crassus, and see on xlvi. 1.

**extraneis ignotisque**, 'people outside his circle and complete strangers'.

**aliud agens**, 'having other business' or 'heedless'.

(M 612)

§ 2. *nihil comperti*. Cf. Livy ix. 16. 7, *nihil satis praeparati erat*.

*ut ausim*, 'so that I could dare'. See Critical Appendix.

*visentis* agrees with *principatus*; 'that sends its messengers to pay its visits'. (Just as modern princes do.)

*medicorum*, the same sort of attentions to a dangerous chieftain has been ascribed recently to an Eastern potentate.

*illud*, 'this frequent sending'.

*cura sive inquisitio*, 'anxiety or espionage'.

§ 3. *momenta*, 'crises' or 'fluctuations' (rallies and relapses).

*dispositos cursore*, 'relays of couriers'.

*tristis*, emphatic; 'that there was such haste with news that he heard with sorrow', i.e. 'that news brought with such haste was painful to hear'.

*doloris animi*. See Critical Appendix.

*securus . . . odii*, 'no longer troubled by feelings of hatred'.

*et qui, &c.*, 'and being one who, &c.'

§ 4. *piissimae*, this superlative form is used by Catullus; but Cicero censures Antonius for using it.

*honore iudicioque*, the compliment and good opinion.

*heredem . . . principem*. Under the republic people from vanity named leading men as heirs; thus Cicero and Clodius were named by Cyrus the architect. Under the empire the motive was chiefly fear that the whole property might otherwise be confiscated. Tiberius and the Antonines refused such inheritances, as did Domitian at first. Gaius and Nero had no such scruples, and in fact required them.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

§ 1. *Gaio . . . consule*, i.e. A.D. 40.

*decumo*. Usually *ante diem decumum*.

*Collega . . . consulibus*, i.e. A.D. 93.

§ 2. *habitum*, 'his personal appearance'.

*decentior quam sublimior*, 'was rather handsome than imposing'.

*nihil impetus*, 'no impetuosity'; *nihil metus* would mean 'nothing to cause fear', 'nothing terrifying'. See Critical Appendix.

*gratia oris supererat*, 'a winning expression was the prevailing trait' or 'was abundant' (cf. xlvi. 6). Both are Tacitean usages of the word.

**crederes**, 'you would have supposed (had you seen him)'; a common ellipse of the protasis.

§ 3. **quantum ad gloriam**, sc. *attinebat*, 'as far as concerned his glory'. Cf. Hist. v. 10, *quantum ad Iudeos*.

**Quippe**, &c. See Critical Appendix.

The difficulty lies in the connexion of the clauses *opibus . . . contigerant* and *filia . . . superstibibus*; for *vera bona* requires some opposition such as is given by *speciosae*; and *filia*, &c., if taken with the following *potes!*-clause, as is usually done, would give a very awkward construction.

**adstruere**, 'add'. A rare sense, but cf. Hist. i. 78, *tamquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent*.

§ 4. **amicitiis**, abstract for concrete; cf. *ministeriis* in xl. 2.

**futura**, 'the coming evils', i.e. Domitian's savagery, that broke out immediately after Agricola's death, and continued till he was slain in the palace.

§ 5. **ei . . . durare**. See Critical Appendix.

**Traianum**, 98–117 A.D.; see ch. iii. He had won a name for himself in Germany in 91. Pliny speaks of signs foretelling his greatness in Paneg. 5.

**quod**, 'an event which', viz. Trajan's reign and accompanying blessings.

**augurio votisque**, 'conjectured by forecast and desire', i.e. 'foretold and yearned for'.

**spiramenta**, 'breathing spaces', i.e. 'pauses'.

**continuo**, 'unceasingly'.

**uno ictu**. Perhaps a reference to Caligula's desire that the Roman people had one neck to sever at one blow.

**rem p. exhaustit**, 'drained the life-blood of the state'.

## CHAPTER XLV.

§ 1. **Non vidit**. For this and xliii. 1 cf. Cic. de Orat. iii. 2. 8 (on Crassus), *Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus . . . non vidit exilium generi, non illam post redditum eius caedem omnium crudelissimam, non denique, &c.*

**obsessam curiam**, probably at the trials of Helvidius, &c., as Nero had done at Thrasea's.

**consularium**. Suetonius mentions twelve (Domit. 10, 11, and 15).

**feminarum**. Arria, wife of Thrasea and mother of Fannia; Fannia, wife of Helvidius I.; Gratilla, wife of Rusticus; and perhaps

**Anteia**, wife of Helvidius II. (Pliny, Ep. iii. 11, and vii. 19, and ix. 13).

**exilia et fugas**, forced and voluntary exile (perhaps).

**Carus Metius**, a buffoon of Nero; he was the accuser of Senecio (Pliny, Ep. i. 5, and vii. 19), and of Fannia (vii. 19), and intended to attack Pliny (Ep. vii. 27). His other victims are not known. He was put to death with Baebius in Trajan's reign.

**censebatur** 'was rated at only one victory hitherto' (*i.e.* only one victory was, as it were, scored to his name).

**intrā Albanam arcem**, *i.e.* 'not beyond the Alban citadel'. Domitian's Alban villa is meant: it is called a 'citadel' as being the stronghold of tyranny. (So also Juvenal iv. 145, and Dio Cassius 67. 1. 2.)

**sententia . . . strepebat**, a harsh personification. Tr. 'The noisy tongue of M. was heard only, &c.'

**Messalini**, Catullus Messalinus, who though blind had no pity for others or shame (Pliny, Ep. iv. 22). A 'deadly' denouncer and informer (Juv. iv. 113 and iii. 30). In Vespasian's days he had, as governor of Libya Pentapolis, treated the Jews with the greatest cruelty.

**Massa Baebius**, another buffoon of Nero, who turned public accuser under Domitian; procurator of Africa, and then threatened with recall for his misdeeds (Hist. iv. 50. 3); procurator of Hispania Baetica, and prosecuted by Senecio and Pliny (Ep. vii. 33; cf. iii. 4 and vi. 29), and condemned to loss of his goods, but escaped the sentence. It was perhaps this prosecution that was threatened or had begun before Agricola's death.

**iam tum**. See Critical Appendix.

His misdeeds in the provinces had culminated in an impending prosecution, and he had not yet begun his destructive career in the city.

**Helvidium**, the son of Priscus Helvidius (ch. ii.), put to death by Domitian (Suet. Dom. 10) on a charge of slandering his wife. Pliny wrote a pamphlet to clear his memory, *de ultione Helvidi* (Ep. ix. 13 and vii. 30).

**Mauricum Rusticumque**. On Rusticus see on ch. ii. Mauricus, brother of R., was banished (Pliny, Ep. iii. 11, mentioned by Tac. Hist. iv. 40, and again by Pliny, Ep. iv. 22).

**divisimus**, 'parted asunder' by exile and death. See Critical Appendix.

**Senecio**; see on ch. ii.

**§ 2. Nero tamen**. This may be true of Nero's treatment of senators, for he would not be present at the trial of Thrasea and Soranus (Ann. xvi. 27), but he gloated over the unhappy Christians, whom he used as torchlights or baited with dogs (Ann. xv. 44).

**subscribersentur**, ‘were registered and added to the charges’; **subscribere** properly = to sign the accusation and join in the prosecution.

**denotandis . . . palloribus**, ‘for marking out (for slaughter) so many men’s pale faces’, i.e. ‘men that turned pale beneath his glance’.

**sufficeret . . . rubor**, ‘a glance of that cruel and fiery face was sufficient’, i.e. was a sufficient signal for his tools to set upon them with accusations.

**rubor**. This is remarked upon by Suetonius (Dom. 18) and Tacitus (H. iv. 40) as ascribed to modesty; Pliny (Paneg. 48) speaks of it in language similar to that in the text.

§ 3. **Tu vero**, &c. A reminiscence of Cicero (continued from § 1) (de Orat. iii. 12), *Ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ortum et extinctum esse arbitror.*

**constans et libens**, ‘with courage and cheerfulness’.

**fatum**, used constantly of ‘natural death’. (*Si fato concederem*, says Germanicus in Ann. ii. 71.) Here it is meant to be ambiguous.

**portione**, usually *parte*.

**innocentiam**, ‘acquittal’.

Tacitus’ own opinion of Domitian’s guilt is shown fairly plainly in ch. xlivi. and xliv. (*festinatae mortis*) and here.

§ 4. **quod**, &c., ‘the fact that, &c.’; the clause is subject to **auget**. **adsidere valetudini**, ‘to tend your sickness’, or ‘sit by your sick-bed’.

**satiari**, ‘to satisfy our love’.

**figeremus**, either final, ‘to implant’; or conditional, ‘which we would have implanted’.

§ 5. **condicione**, ‘by the circumstance’.

Tacitus was probably administering some minor province.

**ante quadriennium**, ‘four years before’, 89 or 90 A.D.

§ 6. **superfuere**, ‘were given in abundance’, as perhaps in xliv. 2.

**desideravere aliquid**, ‘missed some object’, i.e. his daughter and his son-in-law.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

§ 1. **piorum . . . locus**. It is not plain whether Tacitus means that there is immortality for the souls of the great and good only, or that there is a special place for them; **magnae** seems to imply the latter. Gudeman says all this is ‘a veritable mosaic of stereotype ideas’ (as are many of the rhetorical parts) from numerous Greek and Latin authors.

**non cum corpore extinguuntur.** So Cicero (quoting from Xenophon's Cyrop., de Senect. 21 and 22), and de Amic. 4, *neque enim assentior iis . . . cum corporibus simul animos interire*. Add Repub. vi. 13. The majority and best of the ancients, as far as can be judged from extant writings, believed in the immortality of the soul. Aristotle's opinion is doubtful, but he does not deny it.

**ad contemplationem virtutum**; cf. Ann. xv. 63, Seneca's words to his wife, *in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae desiderium mariti . . . toleraret*.

**§ 2. immortalibus and colamus.** See Critical Appendix.

**imitidine**, 'close imitation'.

**§ 3. praeceperim**, 'I would give this counsel'; dubitative subj. So *crederim*, *dixerim*, &c., are used.

**secum revolvant**, 'ponder over'.

**formamque ac figuram**, 'form and features'. This doubling of synonyms is found in Pliny, Paneg. 55, and elsewhere.

**complectantur**, 'cling to', 'treasure up'. (Cf. "embrace and ever hold fast" in the Book of Common Prayer.)

**intercedendum**, 'not that I think we should put a veto on'. *Intercedere* is used specially of the tribune's veto. **putem**, subjunctive, as usual with rejected reason.

**imbecilla ac mortalia**, 'subject to decay and death'; cf. Sall. Cat. i. 4.

**forma mentis**. 'Whereas the mental features are eternal, which you could not preserve and embody by the material and art of another, but in your own character.' **Alienam** is opposed to **tuis** and has its usual sense. (Some take it as 'unsuitable').

**§ 4. fama rerum**, instr. abl.; 'by the glory of his exploits'. Perhaps a reminiscence of Livy's *vivunt vigintique fama rerum gestarum*.

**ignobilis** is almost transitive; 'the oblivion that causes obscurity'.

**obruit** is better than the MSS. *obruct*, as he argues from the oblivion that has fallen upon heroes of former times, that Agricola might have suffered the same. Happy was Achilles, said Alexander, to have found a Homer to set forth his greatness; and happy indeed was Agricola to have found a biographer in Tacitus; otherwise, except for two brief words in Dio Cassius, we should have known nothing of this legate of Britain.

## APPENDIX I

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### QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE 'AGRICOLA'.

As to Domitian's treatment of Agricola, it was natural and even necessary for his own protection; his father Vespasian owed his position entirely to his army, and so a successful commander might overthrow the son, especially as Vespasian's family, the Flavii, had none of the glamour of the former dynasty, the Julii and Claudii. A successful commander at the head of a victorious army was a danger to the state and a menace to the throne. Yet Agricola's tenure of office in Britain had been exceptionally long and his work was properly finished before he was recalled. He had begun to make unnecessary and fruitless advances, at least so the Court thought, beyond the natural Roman frontier. And, as Gibbon says, "the military fame of a subject was considered as an insolent invasion of the imperial prerogative; and it became the duty, as well as the interest, of every Roman general to guard the frontiers entrusted to his care, without aspiring to conquests which might have proved no less fatal to himself than to the vanquished barbarian". Germanicus also and Suetonius Paulinus (as Gibbon adds) were, like Agricola, stopped in their onward career and recalled. On the other hand, Domitian refused to hear any charges against Agricola; though he neglected and slighted him, he did not persecute him, and even advanced his son-in-law Tacitus to high offices. The innuendo against Domitian, of poisoning Agricola, may possibly have had some foundation of fact. The emperor's conduct, however, may be explained as a monarch's natural desire to pay honour to a faithful and

loyal subject. But Tacitus, wishing to represent Agricola as one of Domitian's victims, turns his attentions to the dying man into evidence of his guilt, and his anxiety for news into an eagerness to hear of death. An amir of Afghanistan might send the court-physician to give a dangerous and troublesome chieftain such professional attentions and such instances of the royal interest in his sickness that there is no fear of the man's disloyalty ever after. But in the case before us, the emperor had no fear of the subject, and had in fact anticipated any danger from him by keeping him at Rome unemployed; so that the only motive for murder would be the natural malignity of an evil for a good man, the feeling that his own vice and cruelty is silently rebuked by the other's virtue and gentleness. A Trajan visits a dying friend and all the world extols his graciousness; a Domitian, perhaps from a feeling of remorse for undue neglect, 'sends to enquire', and is branded through all time with the infamy of a cold-blooded murder.

## APPENDIX II

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### ON THE PURPOSE OF THE 'AGRICOLA'.

In chapter iii. 4 Tacitus says this biography was published in Agricola's honour 'interim', and should be excused 'professione pietatis'; meaning that his duty to Agricola's memory required of him an immediate and special account of his father-in-law's life, though the British governor would also have his proper place in the larger history already begun.

(1) Yet one object of the book may have been to prepare the way for the author's *Histories*, to interest his readers in his greater work and in the political ideas inspiring it, namely, his impeachment of the past imperialism. That it could have been intended as a section of the *Histories* is impossible, for it is a complete work in itself, modelled on Sallust's *Jugurtha* and *Catiline*; and still more it is a perfect work of art, with sketches that would need enlarging and details that would need suppressing for the general history, and in the later chapters a dramatic treatment quite unsuitable to the greater work.

(2) Further, it is not a mere tribute to Agricola's memory; for Tacitus wished to show what good work a truly patriotic man might do under a bad sovereign; and more than this, he wished to vindicate Agricola's attitude, and perhaps his own at the same time, from a charge of servility and want of patriotism during Domitian's evil years. On Nerva's elevation to the imperial throne, there was shown not only vindictiveness against Domitian's murderous informers and an undue exaltation of the victims of his savagery, but a strong feeling against the moderates for taking service under the

tyrant, and, for their policy of non-resistance, against the senators who had bent to the storm and given their voices, under compulsion, against their peers. So Agricola is here set forth as a moderate and self-restrained man from youth to death; in all his dealings, as son and husband, civil official and legionary legate, in command of a province and in retirement, he is unobtrusive, unostentatious, and ready to make concessions; yet, unlike others who held proudly aloof or devoted themselves to philosophy, and others who uselessly resisted the monarchy, whoever was the monarch, he was able to do a great amount of good work in his generation, and, besides his ordinary routine of business, to set an example for all other governors and commanders by reforms within his own household, in the administration of his province, in the encouragement of a barbarous and warlike people to take up the arts of peace and civilization. But this biography is so perfect a work of art that this purpose never obtrudes itself; it is kept so well in the background, that we do not feel, as we feel in reading Macaulay's splendid essay on Warren Hastings and Carlyle's *John Sterling*, that the author holds a special brief for the defence of his hero.

(3) Lastly, in defending Agricola and himself, he was, in fact if not in intention, defending, amongst other good and able men, Nerva and Trajan themselves, who had found it necessary to render the same submission to Domitian's tyranny. And possibly the account of the bold and forward policy of Agricola in Britain, besides being a criticism of the old frontier-policy of Augustus and his successors, which was to hold but not advance, was meant to prepare the way for the warlike and ambitious schemes of Trajan; at least we may say on this point that the story of the strong but just administration and of the warlike energy of the British governor was an excellent prelude to the new era that was then opening for the Roman Empire, under "bonus Nerva, Traianus strenuus (Hadrian omitted), Pius innocens, Marcus plenus officii", as Symmachus calls them,—the new era of justice, activity, and firm government at home and abroad.

## HINTS ON TRANSLATION

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1. Make mentally a literal translation, word for word, *as each word comes in the Latin*, taking care not to slur the parsing of a single word *in all its possibilities*. (In verse the scanning will help the parsing.)

2. As the complete sentence is evolved, settle any doubtful points of parsing, mark the beginning and end of the separate clauses, and shape them a little more into English order.

(By attending to these two points you will not miss any words, and you will realize more thoroughly the language in which a Roman clothed his thoughts, and also the Latin order of sentences. Though *at first* the process may be slow, it is surer, and leads to greater readiness in translating. Take the words, then, as they come, for so they came to a Latin eye or ear, checking continually what has gone before by what follows, until the sentence is finished.)

e.g. Take c. 33:—

<i>Latin.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Mental Remarks.</i>
<i>excepere,</i>	they received.	Subject, if any, must be 3rd pl.
<i>orationem,</i>	the speech.	Object.
<i>alacres,</i>	enthusiastic.	Nom. pl. agr. with subj. (acc. pl. not likely).
<i>ut,</i>	as, how, &c.	Wait for the mood, or till clause is complete.
<i>barbaris,</i>	to barbarians.	Or abl. pl., but then some prep., as <i>ab</i> , would be expected.
<i>moris,</i>	of custom.	Gen., but why? Punctuation seems to show that <i>ut</i> -clause is ended. Perhaps supply <i>est</i> , which with gen. means 'belongs to', 'is mark of'.
<i>cantu, &amp;c.,</i>	with singing, &c.	Abl. of association (?). Try other usages of abl. Translate.
<i>iamque,</i>	and now; or already.	

Latin.	English.	Mental Remarks.
<i>agmina,</i>	the columns.	Nom. or acc. pl. Which here?
<i>et,</i>	and.	Coupling what?
<i>armorum fulgores,</i>	flashings of arms.	Nom. or acc. pl. Which here?
<i>audentissimi,</i>	boldest.	Gen. sing. or nom. pl. Which here?
<i>cuiusque,</i>	of each.	<i>Audentissimi</i> is therefore probably gen. sing., as superlative is common with <i>quisque</i> , and 'of each boldest man' is better than 'boldest flashings'.
<i>procursu,</i>	by, with, &c., the running forward.	The previous gen. goes best with this. Sentence ends; <i>agmina</i> and <i>fulgores</i> must be nom.; supply <i>sunt</i> or something similar, and translate.
<i>simul,</i>	at the same time.	May be conjunction, 'as soon as'.
<i>instruebatur,</i>	was being drawn up.	Subj. must be singular.
<i>acies,</i>	the army.	Must be subj.
<i>cum,</i>	when.	What other senses are possible?
<i>Agricola,</i>	Agricola.	Nom. (abl. not likely).
<i>quamquam,</i>	although.	Clause with finite verb expected, but not necessary in Tacitus; or acc. fem. of <i>quisquam</i> , then a fem. subst. expected.
<i>laetum,</i>	joyous.	Acc. masc. or neut., or nom. neut. Which here?
<i>et,</i>	and.	Coupling what?
<i>vix,</i>	scarcely.	Qualifying some adj., verb, or adverb.
<i>munitimentis,</i>	by, &c., fortifications.	Or dative.
<i>coercitum,</i>	confined.	<i>et</i> seems to couple <i>laetum</i> and <i>coercitum</i> . <i>vix munitimentis</i> then must belong by order to <i>coercitum</i> , and be ablative. Translate accordingly.
<i>militem,</i>	the soldier (or the soldiers).	Object of some verb. <i>laetum</i> and <i>coercitum</i> seem to agree with this.
<i>accendendum,</i>	should or must be fired.	No prep. with the gerundive; supply <i>esse</i> .
<i>adhuc,</i>	hitherto; or still more.	Qualifies what?
<i>ratus,</i>	having formed the thought, thinking.	May be for <i>ratus est</i> , 'thought'; or as <i>quamquam</i> is used in Tacitus with partic. or adj. only, is perhaps partic., and agrees with <i>Agricola</i> . Translate <i>quamquam</i> -clause. <i>adhuc</i> seems best with <i>accendendum</i> , and to mean 'still more'.
<i>ita,</i>	thus.	Qualifies what?
<i>disseruit,</i>	made harangue.	<i>Agricola</i> must be subj., and <i>cum</i> mean 'when'. Translate from <i>cum</i> , and then from <i>simul</i> , which must mean 'at the same time'.

## 3. Now put into idiomatic English.

- (a) The parts of speech need not be kept the same.
- (b) Be sure that no single word, or shade of tense-meaning, or mood, is neglected.
- (c) Use abstract nouns and personification more freely than in Latin.
- (d) Break up periods.

(In general aim at straightforward natural English, avoiding colloquialisms and grandiose language alike; avoiding also, as far as possible, terms that have specially modern associations, and English derivatives of the word before you, for they do not always mean exactly the same. Remember, too, that a Latin word does not always have the same meaning, even when repeated in close proximity; then a different English word must be used to obtain the true sense.)

Translate the passage: "They received this speech with enthusiasm (*abstract for concrete*), as is the way with barbarians, amid singing, clamouring, and confused yells. Already [were seen] the columns and the flashing of arms as all the boldest moved to the front (*verbal phrase for abl.*). At the same time the [Roman] army was forming in array; the soldiers were exultant, and were with difficulty held within their lines (*period broken up*); but Agricola, thinking they needed further (*adhuc*) incitement, thus made harangue."

## ENGLISH-LATIN EXERCISES

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### Ex. I. (Ch. 1-3).

#### *On Accusative with Infinitive—Direct Questions.*

1. We consider that envy is a vice common to all.
2. Did you say that you would record the deeds of a famous man?    3. Has he not promised to burn the books of distinguished authors?    4. They also thought that all liberty would be destroyed.    5. Do you suppose that fifteen years is no small portion of human life?
6. The philosopher said it was easier to crush intellectual pursuits than to revive them.    7. Does anyone think that a happier epoch is dawning?    8. He said that they had not lost their memory with their (freedom of) speech.

### Ex. II. (Ch. 4-6).

#### *On the Gerundive.*

1. He spent his youth in learning philosophy.    2. She sent her son to be educated at Marseilles.    3. We all think that liberal accomplishments should be cultivated by the young.    4. The queen caused (*curare*) the town to be burnt and the veterans butchered.    5. He said he ought to take up civil duties in the city.    6. You were intent on (*ad*) learning the arts of war.    7. A commission of three was appointed for revising the gifts.    8. He went to Britain for the purpose of conquering the island.

## Ex. III. (Ch. 7-9).

*Ablative Absolute.*

1. On the death of his mother he went off to Liguria.
2. In Vespasian's absence, Mucianus governed the city.
3. As the legate was powerless to restrain the legion, Agricola was put in command.
4. They say he won great glory under the leadership of this man.
5. After he had married his daughter to me, he was sent to Britain.
6. Though he showed courtesy to all, he did not lessen his authority.
7. If he had sought to obtain a reputation by intrigue he would not have become famous.
8. Now that sovereign power has been claimed by Vespasian, must we not join his side?

## Ex. IV. (Ch. 10-12).

*General.*

1. This sea was said to be very heavy for rowing.
2. It does not belong to this work to enquire the cause.
3. That year a fleet sailed round Britain, and discovered it was an island, a fact which was only supposed before.
4. As winter was coming on, the fleet returned to the harbour from which it had started.
5. For many years now we have known that the Caledonians have red hair.
6. It is probable that some were descended from Germans, others from Gauls.
7. You show courage in calling for dangers, but fear in avoiding them.
8. By constant fighting among themselves they are never prepared to ward off a common danger.
9. In summer the northern sun, it is said, never sinks below the sky horizon (sky).
10. We must obey the kings. It is a wise man's duty to obey.
11. Now that your valour

is gone you have lost your liberty also. 12. The islands, which were called the Orkneys, were up to that time known only by name. 13. It is said that the ancient Germans were men of great limbs. 14. It is both honourable and expedient to record the deeds of past men. 15. A description of the geography of Britain is not necessary for the present work. 16. He deprived (*adimere*) all the Romans of liberty.

**Ex. V. (Ch. 13 and 14).**

*Oblique Interrogative Clauses.*

1. I have often asked him whether the Britons obey cheerfully or resent wrongs.
2. Do you know if Vespasian has sent the legions across?
3. We have just ascertained by what means he enlarged his authority, and how many followed him.
4. They asked us whether we wished to have the kings as our instruments of tyranny or not.
5. You wonder why the leading men have turned their arms against their country.
6. Can you tell me where and when the sun is seen all night?
7. He did not perceive how large a shadow the olive-tree threw.
8. No one knew what he would give him on his return, punishment or reward.

**Ex. VI. (Ch. 15-17).**

*On Oratio Obliqua in General.*

(Understand *they said* throughout.)

1. Instead of their own kings, they had the Roman governors now, who took away their goods.
2. If but they showed the spirit of their ancestors, they would drive the Romans into the sea, as they had driven Caesar.

3. Why could they not throw off the yoke, as the Germans had done? For how few of their enemies were present in the land! 4. They were not to fear to take up arms, but should leave the issue to the gods who pitied them. 5. Petronius, who had now become governor, would be more merciful than Suetonius. 6. They should surrender to him, and he would pardon them the rebellion. 7. Why should they delay (*morari*) to attack the colony and storm the outposts? 8. Had not Suetonius heard of the danger, he would not have come to their rescue.

**Ex. VII. (Ch. 18-20).**

*Temporal Clauses.*

1. Before Agricola arrived in the island, a body of horse had been cut to pieces by the Britons. 2. Let us wait until we know the temper of the new legate. 3. When his picked troops had crossed to the island by swimming, the enemy surrendered. 4. He determined to restrain his own household before attempting (*conari*) to rule the province. 5. When I have removed the causes of war the Britons will obey me. 6. The enemy will remain in arms so long as I hold out no inducements for peace. 7. When the summer was already passed, he was massing his troops for a campaign. 8. Until they heard his orders, the Britons had carried their corn to distant places. 9. While the cavalry was quartered in these districts, the enemy fell upon them unexpectedly. 10. As often as they came to pay their tribute, they had been made to sit outside the barns.

## Ex. VIII. (Ch. 21-24).

*Final Clauses.*

1. He marched in front of his men to inspire (*inicere*) them with more spirit.
2. To accustom the warlike tribes to peace, he urged them to build houses.
3. He supplied the garrisons with a year's provisions, that they might not be compelled to surrender.
4. He sent soldiers to devastate the country.
5. I have detained the chieftain to learn from him all I want to know about the island.
6. He begged the soldiers not to provoke the enemy.
7. Do you order us to praise the centurion's slaves?
8. He has warned us that danger is threatening (*imminēre*) us, and to avoid it.
9. We feared that our liberty would be entirely destroyed.
10. You need not fear that the forts cannot stand (*tolerare*) a long siege.

## Ex. IX. (Ch. 25-29).

*Consecutive Clauses.*

1. He made the castles so strong that none were ever taken by storm.
2. They came to such straits for food that they ate some of their own number.
3. So far (*tantum abesse*) were they from wishing to advance that they advised a retreat.
4. There were some who exaggerated their own exploits and their own dangers.
5. There is no one who cannot be wise after the event.
6. The result was (*factum est*) that they claimed all the success for themselves, and credited ill-success to another.
7. He bore this affliction bravely without (*ita ut non*) giving way (*se dedere*) to useless lamentations.
8. The enemy were so frightened by the shouting that they fled

to the woods as fast as they could. 9. They had nothing to eat for sixteen days. 10. You are not the man to fear pirates.

Ex. X. (Ch. 30-32).

*General.*

1. As often as he gazed upon the ocean there came into his mind all that he had lost by leaving his native land.
2. The safer they were, the more cautious they were.
3. When you have removed these bonds of affection they will begin to hate each other.
4. He promised large rewards to the person who should first avenge him.
5. I shall bind my enemies, and hand them over to you.
6. Let not the length of the journey nor the difficulties of the ground frighten you.
7. Let us show the Romans what force there had been left in the unconquered.
8. Will you promise to remember your former liberty?
9. Do not purchase that corn at so great a price.
10. The slaves of the greatest beauty will be sold at the highest price.
11. They might have thrown off the yoke in those days.
12. They ought not to have allowed their prosperity to turn to negligence.
13. Do not forget your ancestors and posterity.
14. He expected the Germans would also desert the Romans, just as the Usipi had already.
15. Under the guidance of a slave they were intending to set forth to examine the mines.
16. We have long been urging you not to show such negligence, but to avenge your parents.
17. You are not the persons whom we could reserve for working the mines.
18. When these bonds of affection have been removed, and you have ceased to fear, you will begin to hate.

## Ex. XI. (Ch. 33-34).

*Causal, Concessive, and Comparative Clauses.*

1. Though he knew that the soldiers were eager for battle, he yet thought their courage might be roused still more.
2. Just as cowardice is both dangerous and disgraceful, so is bravery both honourable and safe.
3. He was accused of having (use *quod*-clause) turned his back upon the enemy.
4. The bravest of the Britons had long since fallen in battle, just as the boldest animals had been the first to die in the woods through which they marched.
5. The soldiers were much grieved because all the delays had been ascribed to them.
6. Since these things are so, let us fall upon the legion by night.
7. Though the mountains and rivers may weary you, yet you will not be dissatisfied with your general, because he has always been victorious.
8. As we have never experienced slavery, we must needs prove ourselves free men now.

## Ex. XII. (Ch. 35-37).

*Conditional Sentences.*

1. If we are overcome by numbers, the legions will come to our aid.
2. If you opened out the ranks the line would become too extended.
3. Unless I keep men in reserve for the sudden emergencies of the battle, we might suffer some great disaster.
4. If you attack the enemy in front they will not stand the charge.
5. Even if they fall upon you fiercely, do not turn to flight.
6. If the Romans were defeated their allies would desert them.
7. Little good can be done by arms, unless we remove the causes of war.
8. The

Britons are sure to renew the war unless we treat (*uti*) them justly.

**Ex. XIII. (Ch. 38-40).**

*Conditional Sentences (continued).*

1. Had he been still in Britain the letter would have been delivered to him.
2. If new and unfamiliar tribes had been arrayed against us, I would now exhort you in different words.
3. They might then have thrown off the yoke if their prosperity had not made them negligent.
4. They would not have slain their wives and children unless they had pitied them.
5. Unless our men were victorious, they would not be pursuing the foe.
6. You ought to have restrained your horse, unless you wanted to be killed.
7. The fleet would have gone farther if the winter had not been coming on.
8. You were sure to suffer some disaster if you advanced with too much confidence.

**Ex. XIV. (Ch. 41-43).**

*Uses of Quin and Quominus, Tamquam (si).*

1. There is no doubt but that he was acquitted in his absence.
2. There was no doubt that he concealed his joy.
3. He said he would refuse to go to the province.
4. You are trying to prevent my going to Asia.
5. I cannot but praise your prudence.
6. He was accused of having (*use tamquam si*) injured someone.
7. You persuaded me not to go, as though you wished to go yourself.
8. What reason is there (*quid causae est*) why I should not hear their complaints?
9. They did not desist at all from arming their young men.
10. It was owing to (*stare per*) Nerva that the empire did not perish.

## Ex. XV. (Ch. 44-46).

*Some Uses of Qui with Consecutive Subjunctive.  
and General.*

1. He was too great a man to be passed over in silence.
2. He was too cruel to spare the innocent senators.
3. You deserve (use *dignus*) to be loved by all. 4. These favours are greater than I can thank you for.
5. He does not deserve to be honoured with your admiration and praise. 6. Whether he was cut off by poison or not, I cannot now assert. 7. Whether the soul perishes or not with the body, his name will live for ever.
8. All that you have admired and loved in your friend shall be handed down to posterity. 9. Those who were present when he died declare that he met his death with constancy.
10. No one knows how much evil he escaped. 11. Though they set up figures of the dead in bronze and marble, they forgot to imitate his life and works.
12. Nor was there anyone that rejoiced on hearing of Agricola's death. 13. He was the first to carry the news to the emperor.
14. There was no reason why he should have hated me. 15. The more obscure a man was in these times, the safer he was.
16. There is no doubt that his name will live after him.
17. I have written this book that he may receive more honour. 18. Domitian probably would have thought that the book deserved to be burnt.

## VOCABULARY.

(Words marked by an asterisk are words in the text by emendation, or suggested for text, but are not actually found in the MSS.)

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| <b>a, ab, prep.</b> from, by.<br><b>abnūo, -ēre, -nui, -nuitum and</b><br>-nūtum, <i>v.a.</i> and <i>n.</i> refuse.<br><b>ābōleo, -ēre, -ēvi (-ui), -Itum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> destroy.<br><b>abruptus, -a, -um, adj. (partic.</b><br>of <i>abrumpto</i> ), precipitous,<br>steep.<br><b>absens, (gen.) -ntis, adj.</b> absent.<br><b>absentia, -ae, f.</b> absence.<br><b>absolvo, -ere, -solvi, -solutum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> acquit.<br><b>abstinentia, -ae, f.</b> self-restraint.<br><b>abstrāho, -ere, -traxi, -tractum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> drag away.<br><b>absum, -esse, āfui, v.n.</b> be ab-<br>sent, distant.<br><b>absūmo, -ere, -sump̄ai, -sump-</b><br>-tum, <i>v.a.</i> spend.<br><b>ābundantia, -ae, f.</b> abundance,<br>lavishness.<br><b>ac, atque, conj.</b> and.<br><b>accēdo, -ere, -cessi, -cessum, v.n.</b><br>come to.<br><b>accendo, -ere, -cendi, -censum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> fire, kindle, exaggerate.<br><b>accipio, -ēre, -cēpi, -ceptum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> receive, hear, be told.<br><b>accūso, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.</b><br>accuse.<br><b>ācerbior, -ius, comp. adj.</b> harsher,<br>more bitter.<br><b>ācerbitas, -tatis, f.</b> anguish.<br><b>ācerrimus, -a, -um, superl. adj.</b><br>boldest. | <b>ācies, -ēi, f.</b> army in battle-or-<br>der, army, battle.<br><b>ācrius, comp. adv.</b> (of <i>acriter</i> ),<br>too keenly, more vigorously.<br><b>ād, prep.</b> to, up to, with a view to.<br><b>adclēro, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.</b><br>hasten.<br><b>adclivis, -e, adj.</b> uphill, sloping.<br><b>aderesco, -ere, -crevi, -cretum,</b><br><i>v.n.</i> flow (of tide).<br><b>adcurro, -ere, -cūcurri and -curri,</b><br>cursum, <i>v.n.</i> rush, charge.<br><b>addo, -ere, -didi, -ditum, v.a.</b><br>add, cause.<br><b>addūco, -ere, -duxi, -ductum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> bring.<br><b>ādeo, adv.</b> to such an extent.<br><b>adfecto, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.</b><br>claim, assume.<br><b>adfectus, -ūs, m.</b> longing, de-<br>sire, affection.<br><b>*adfero, -ferre, -tūll, -lātum</b><br>(or <i>allatum</i> ), <i>v.a.</i> bring.<br><b>adflīitas, -tātis, f.</b> (in <i>pl.</i> ) re-<br>lations, kindred.<br><b>adfirmo, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.</b><br>assert, declare, state.<br><b>adfligo, -ere, -fixi, -flictum, v.a.</b><br>strike, afflict.<br><b>adfluo, -ere, -fluxi, -fluctum,</b><br><i>v.n.</i> flock in.<br><b>adfundō, -ere, -fudi, -fusum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> spread about.<br><b>adgnosco, -ere, -gnovi, -gnitum,</b><br><i>v.a.</i> recognize. |
|---|---|

- adgrēdior, -i, -gressus, dep.v.a.  
     attack.  
 adhuc, adv. hitherto, still, still  
     more.  
 adīcio, -ere, -īci, -iectum, v.a.  
     add.  
 adigo, -ere, -īgi, -actum, v.a.  
     force, compel.  
 adīmo, -ere, -īmi, -emptum, v.a.  
     take away.  
 āditus, -īs, m. approach.  
 adīūvo, -are, -īvī, -ītūm, v.a.  
     help.  
 adlōquor, -i, -locūtus, dep.v.a.  
     address.  
 administrātio, -ōnis, f. charge  
     of public affairs, office.  
 admirātio, -ōnis, f. admiration.  
 admōdum, adv. quite, merely.  
 admōneo, -ere, -ui, -ītūm, v.a.  
     warn, advise.  
 adnōto, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.  
     notice, remark.  
 adnuo, -ere, -nui, -nūtūm, v.a.  
     and n. consent.  
 adōrior, -iri, -ortus, dep.v.a.  
     attack.  
 adpēto, -ere, -petivi and -petii,  
     -petitum, v.a. and n. aim at,  
     seek, covet; (*intrans.*) ap-  
     proach.  
 adprōbo, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.  
     prove, make approved.  
 adrōganter, adv. overbearingly,  
     arrogantly.  
 adrōgantia, -ae, f. arrogance,  
     haughtiness.  
 adscisco, -ere, -scivi, -scitum,  
     v.a. admit, enroll among.  
 adsēro, -ere, -serui, -sertum,  
     v.a. assert, declare.  
 adsīdeo, -ere, -sēdi, -sessum,  
     v.n. sit by.  
 adsimūlo, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.  
     liken, compare.  
 adsto, -are, -stīti, v.n. take a  
     stand.  
 adstruo, -ere, -struxi, -struc-  
     tum, v.a. add.
- adsuesco, -ere, -suēvi, -suetum,  
     v.n. become accustomed.  
 adsuetus, -a, -um, accus-  
     tomed.  
 adsulto, -are, -avi, -atum, v.n.  
     attack (with dat.).  
 adsum, -esse, -fui, v.n. be  
     present, arrive.  
 adſūmo, -ere, -sumpsi, -sum-  
     tum, v.a. take besides, take,  
     gather.  
 adulātio, -ōnis, f. flattery.  
 adilescentia, -ae, f. youth.  
 advectus, -a, -um (*partic.* of  
     adveho), immigrant.  
 advēnio, -ire, -vēni, -ventum,  
     v.n. come.  
 adventus, -īs, m. arrival.  
 adversus, adv. towards, against,  
     in dealing with.  
 adversus, -a, -um, adj. adverse,  
     opposed, unsuccessful, in front;  
 adversa, n.pl. obstacles.  
 aeger, -gra, -grum, adj. faint,  
     feeble.  
 \*aegre, adv. hardly, with diffi-  
     culty.  
 aemūlātio, -ōnis, f. rivalry,  
     jealousy.  
 aemūlor, -ari, -ātus, dep.v.a.  
     rival.  
 \*aequālitas, -tātis, f. fair distri-  
     bution.  
 aequē, adv. equally.  
 aequus, -a, -um, adj. level, fair,  
     advantageous; aequum, as  
     subst. plain; ex aequo, on  
     equality, independent.  
 aes, aeris, n. bronze.  
 aestas, -tātis, f. summer.  
 aestimo, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.  
     value, test, judge.  
 aestuārium, -īl, n. estuary, firth,  
     tidal creek.  
 aestus, -īs, m. tide.  
 aetas, -tātis, f. age, lifetime,  
     generation, years.  
 aeternitas, -tātis, f. eternity.  
 aeternus, -a, -um, adj. eternal,

- everlasting; in **aeternum**, for ever.  
**aevum**, -i, *n.* lifetime.  
**Africa**, -ae, *f.* Roman province of Africa.  
**äger**, agri, *m.* land, territory.  
**ägito**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* and *n.* discuss, trouble, harass, plan, scheme.  
**agmen**, -inis, *n.* army on march, army.  
**ägo**, -ere, egi, actum, *v.a.* do, act, conduct, live, drive; (with *gratias*) pay thanks.  
**ala**, -ae, *f.* squadron of horse.  
**äläcer or -cris**, -cre, *adj.* eager, excited.  
**älacritas**, -tatis, *f.* eagerness, briskness.  
**Albanus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Alban.  
**äliäas**, *adv.* at other times.  
**älibi**, *adv.* elsewhere.  
**äliénus**, -a, -um, *adj.* belonging to another, another's, or others'.  
**aliquando**, *adv.* sometimes, at one time.  
**aliqui**, -a, -od, *adj.* some or other.  
**aliquis**, -id, *subst.* someone, something.  
**älius**, -a, -ud, *adj.* other, another.  
**älo**, -ere, -ui, altum, *v.a.* nourish, feed.  
**alter**, -era, -erum, *adj.* the other.  
**ämantissimus**, -a, -um, *superl.* *adj.* (of amans), most loving.  
**\*ämärities**, -ei, *f.* bitterness, harshness.  
**ambiguus**, -a, -um, *adj.* wavering.  
**ambio**, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, *v.a.* go round, go in and out.  
**ambitio**, -onis, *f.* self-seeking, ambition, ostentation.  
**ambitiöse**, *adv.* ostentatiously.  
**ambitiösus**, -a, -um, *adj.* ostentatious, pretentious.  
**ambitus**, -is, *m.* going round, canvassing.  
**ämicitia**, -ae, *f.* friendship.  
**ämicus**, -i, *m.* friend.  
**ämitto**, -ere, -misi, -missum, *v.a.* lose.  
**ämo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* love, like.  
**ämor**, -öris, *m.* love, affection.  
**amlector**, -i, *plexus*, *dep.* *v.a.* embrace, include, encircle.  
**an**, *conj.* and *adv.* or; sign of question.  
**anceps**, (*gen.*) -cipitis, *adj.* two-fold.  
**angustiae**, -arum, *f.* narrow places, passes.  
**angustus**, -a, -um, *adj.* narrow; *comp.* angustior.  
**äntima**, -ae, *f.* spirit, soul.  
**äntimal**, -älis, *n.* animal.  
**äntimus**, -i, *m.* spirit, courage, mind, temper, desire.  
**annus**, -i, *m.* year, year's crops.  
**annuus**, -a, -um, *adj.* lasting a year.  
**ante**, *adv.* before; *prep.* before, in front of.  
**antöföro**, -ferre, -tili, -latum, *v.a.* put before.  
**antöpöno**, -ere, -pösu, -pösitum, *v.a.* place before, prefer.  
**antiquitüs**, *adv.* in ancient times.  
**anxius**, -a, -um, *adj.* worried, earnest.  
**äpërio**, -ire, -përui, -pertum, *v.a.* open, reveal; **apertus**, -a, -um, open; *in aperto esse*, be easy, lie clear before one.  
**appello**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* call.  
**appropinquo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* approach.  
**äpud**, *prep.* among.  
**\*äquor**, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.n.* get water.  
**arbitror**, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.a.* think, judge.

- arceo, -ere, -ui, -tum, *v.a.* keep away.  
 arcesso, -ere, -ivi, -itum, *v.a.* send for, summon.  
 ardor, -oris, *m.* ardour, fire, zeal.  
 arduus, -a, -um, *adj.* difficult.  
 argentum, -i, *n.* silver.  
 argumentum, -i, *n.* evidence, proof, testimony.  
 arma, -orum, *n.* arms.  
 armatus, -a, -um, *adj.* armed; (and as *subst.*) armed man.  
 armo, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* arm.  
 ars, artis, *f.* art, skill, intrigue; in *pl.* arts, learning, accomplishments.  
 artus, -us, *m.* limb.  
 artus, -a, -um, *adj.* confined, narrow; in arto, in a confined space: *comp.* artior, -ius.  
 arvum, -i, *n.* field.  
 arx, arcis, *f.* citadel, castle.  
 ascendo, -ere, -scendi, -scensum, *v.a.* go aboard.  
 ascio, -ire, -ivi, *v.a.* take on staff, attach.  
**Asia, -ae, *f.*** the Roman province of Asia.  
 aspectus, -us, *m.* sight, appearance.  
 asperitas, -tatis, *f.* severity.  
 aspicio, -ere, -spexi, -spectum, *v.a.* see, look towards.  
 assiduus, -a, -um, *adj.* constant.  
 at, *conj.* but.  
 atque, ac, *conj.* and.  
 atrox, (*gen.*) -cis, *adj.* fierce, terrible.  
 attero, -ere, -trivi, -tritum, *v.a.* trample upon.  
 attinet, -ere, -uit, *v.n.* pertains to. (*quod ad me attinet*, as far as pertains to me.)  
 attollo, -ere, *v.a.* lift, raise, enlarge upon.  
 auctor, -oris, *m.* author, originator.  
 auctōritas, -tatis, *f.* influence.  
 audācia, -ae, *f.* boldness.  
 audentissimus, -a, -um, *superl.* adj. boldest.  
 audeo, -ere, ausus, *v.n.* dare.  
 audio, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, *v.a.* hear.  
 aufero, -ferre, abstuli, ablatum, *v.a.* take away.  
 augēo, -ere, auxi, auctum, *v.a.* increase, enlarge upon.  
 augeaco, -ere, *v.n.* grow.  
 augūrium, ii, *n.* forecast, prognosis.  
 auriga, -ae, *m.* charioteer.  
 auris, -is, *f.* ear.  
 aurum, -i, *n.* gold.  
 ausim, pres. subj. of audeo.  
 auspicium, -ii, *n.* auspices.  
 aut, *conj.* either, or.  
 auxiliāres, -ium, *m.* auxiliaries.  
 auxilium, -ii, *n.* help; (in *pl.*) auxiliaries.  
 āvaritia, -ae, *f.* greed, avarice.  
 āvarus, -a, -um, *adj.* grasping, avaricious.  
 āvello, -ere, -vulsi and -velli, -vulsum, *v.a.* tear away.  
 āversus, -a, -um, *adj.* in the rear.  
 āviditas, -tatis, *f.* greed.  
 āvidus, -a, -um, *adj.* greedy, grasping.  
 āvius, -a, -um, *adj.* unfrequented, inaccessible.  
 āvus, -i, *m.* grandfather.  
 bālineum, -i, *n.* bath.  
 barbārus, -a, -um, *adj.* barbarian, uncivilized (used also as *subst.*).  
**Bātāvus, -i, *m.*** a Batavian.  
 beātus, -a, -um, *adj.* blessed, fortunate; *superl.* beatissimus.  
 bello, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* make war.  
 bellum, -i, *n.* war.  
 bēnō, *adv.* well.  
 bēnōficiūm, -ii, *n.* good service.

biennium, *ii*, *n.* a period of two years.  
**bini**, *-ae*, *-a*, *adj.* two at a time, pair.  
**bipenne**, *-is*, *n.* two-headed axe, axe.  
**blandior**, *-iri*, *-itus*, *dep. v.n.* entice, allure.  
**Bodotria**, *-ae*, *f.* the Firth of Forth.  
**bōnum**, *-i*, *n.* a blessing; also in *pl.* goods.  
**bōnus**, *-a*, *-um*, *adj.* good.  
**Boresti**, *-orum*, *m.* a tribe of Britons (unknown).  
**brévi**, *adv.* in a short time, shortly.  
**brévis**, *-e*, *adj.* short, brief.  
**Brigantes**, *-ium*, *m.* a tribe of Britons.  
**Britannia**, *-ae*, *f.* Britain (to Forth and Clyde).  
**Britannus**, *-i*, *m.* a Briton.  
**cádo**, *-ere*, *cēcidi*, *cásrum*, *v.n.* fall, be killed.  
**caecus**, *-a*, *-um*, *adj.* blind.  
**caedes**, *-is*, *f.* murder.  
**caedo**, *-ere*, *cēcidi*, *caesum*, *v.a.* kill.  
**caelum**, *-i*, *n.* sky, climate.  
**caetra**, *-ae*, *f.* buckler, target.  
**Cáledōnia**, *-ae*, *f.* Caledonia (north of Clyde and Forth).  
**Cáledōnus**, *-i*, *m.* a Caledonian.  
**cállidior**, *-ius*, *comp. adj.* hotter.  
**calliditas**, *-tatis*, *f.* shrewdness.  
**campus**, *-i*, *m.* plain.  
**cantus**, *-üs*, *m.* singing.  
**cápesso**, *-ere*, *-ivi*, *-itum*, *v.a.* undertake.  
**cápio**, *-ere*, *cēpi*, *captum*, *v.a.* take, capture.  
**cápitális**, *-e*, *adj.* capital, criminal.  
**captivus**, *-i*, *m.* prisoner.  
**carcer**, *-ēris*, *m.* prison.  
**cáriSSimus**, *-a*, *-um*, *superl. adj.* dearest.  
**cáritas**, *-tatis*, *f.* affection.

**castellum**, *-i*, *n.* fort.  
**castigo**, *-are*, *-avi*, *-atum*, *v.a.* chastise.  
**castitas**, *-tatis*, *f.* chastity.  
**castra**, *-orum*, *n.* camp, soldiering, soldiers.  
**castreñsis**, *-e*, *adj.* belonging to the camp.  
**cásrus**, *-üs*, *m.* accident, fortune, misfortune.  
**cáterva**, *-ae*, *f.* body of troops.  
**causa**, *-ae*, *f.* cause, reason, interests.  
**cautē**, *adv.* wisely, discreetly.  
**cautus**, *-a*, *-um*, *adj.* cautious, discreet.  
**cēdo**, *-ere*, *cessi*, *cessum*, *v.n.* turn-out, result; with in, fall to share of.  
**célēber or -bris**, *-bre*, *adj.* celebrated, famous; *superl.* *celēberrimus*, *-a*, *-um*.  
**célēritas**, *-tatis*, *f.* a gathering.  
**célēbro**, *-are*, *-avi*, *-atum*, *v.a.* celebrate.  
**censeo**, *-ere*, *-ui*, *censum*, *v.a.* reckon, count.  
**centúrio**, *-ōnis*, *m.* centurion (in command of fifty men).  
**certē**, *adv.* at least.  
**certo**, *-are*, *-avi*, *-atum*, *v.n.* struggle, fight.  
**cetērūm**, *adv.* however.  
**cetēr[us]**, *-a*, *-um*, *adj.* the rest (usually *plural*).  
**circulus**, *-i*, *m.* club, coterie.  
**circum**, *adv.* about.  
**circumcidō**, *-ere*, *-cidi*, *-cīsum*, *v.a.* curtail.  
**circumdo**, *-dare*, *-dēdi*, *-dātum*, *v.a.* put round (*acc.* and *dat.*), surround (*acc.* and *abl.*).  
**circumeo**, *-ire*, *-ivi* and *-ii*, *-itum*, *v.a.* and *n.* go round, surround, circumvent.  
**\*circumspecto**, *-are*, *-avi*, *-atum*, *v.a.* look round upon.  
**circumvēhor**, *-i*, *vectus*, *dep.v.a.* sail round.

- circumvēnio, -ire, -vēni, -ven-  
     tum, *v.a.* surround.  
 cītō, *adv.* quickly.  
 citrā, *prep.* on this side of, short  
     of, without.  
 civilis, -e, *adj.* civil.  
 civitas, -tatis, *f.* state.  
 clādes, -is, *f.* defeat, disaster.  
 clāmor, -ōris, *m.* shout, shout-  
     ing.  
 clāritas, -tatis, *f.* fame, dis-  
     tinction.  
 clārus, -a, -um, *adj.* bright, clear,  
     famous; *superl.* clarissimus.  
 classis, -is, *f.* fleet.  
 clāudo, -ere, clausi, clausum,  
     *v.a.* shut.  
 cliens, -entis, *m.* dependant,  
     vassal.  
 \*clīvus, -i, *m.* hill, hill-side.  
 Clota, -ae, *f.* Clyde.  
 cōdīcilli, -orum, *m.* diploma,  
     commission.  
 coepi, -isse, coeptum, *v.a.* begin.  
 coerco, -ēre, -ui, -itum, *v.a.*  
     constrain, restrain, restrict.  
 coetus, -ūs, *m.* assembly, gather-  
     ing.  
 cōgītatio, -ōnis, *f.* meditation,  
     thoughts.  
 cōgīto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
     think of, call to mind.  
 cognosco, -ere, -nōvi, -nītum,  
     *v.a.* learn, ascertain.  
 cōgo, -ere, coēgi, coactum, *v.a.*  
     compel.  
 cōhēres, -ēdis, *m.* coheir.  
 cōhlbeo, -ēre, -ui, -itum, *v.a.*  
     restrain, hold in check.  
 cōhors, -tis, *f.* cohort (ten to  
     each legion).  
 cōhortor, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.a.*  
     exhort, encourage.  
 collēga, -ae, *m.* colleague.  
 colligo, -ere, -lēgi, -lectum, *v.a.*  
     gather, collect.  
 collis, -is, *m.* hill.  
 collōco, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
     give in marriage.
- cōlo, -ere, colui, cultum, *v.a.*  
     inhabit, honour.  
 cōlōnia, -ae, *f.* colony.  
 cōlōrātus, -a, -um, *adj.* swarthy.  
 cōmae, -arum, *f.* hair (of head).  
 cōmis, -e, *adj.* kind, courteous,  
     affable.  
 cōmitas, -tatis, *f.* courtliness,  
     affability.  
 cōmītium, -i, *n.* open place be-  
     tween the *curia* and *forum*  
     *Romanum.*  
 cōmītor, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.n.*  
     accompany, go with; comita-  
     tus, -a, -um, accompanied.  
 commeātus, -ūs, *m.* leave of  
     absence, provisions, stores.  
 commendātio, -ōnis, *f.* recom-  
     mendation.  
 commercium, -ii, *n.* trade, in-  
     terchange, commercial deal-  
     ings.  
 commīlito, -ōnis, *m.* fellow-  
     soldier.  
 commōdo, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
     lend, bestow.  
 communīco, -are, -avi, -atum,  
     *v.a.* share.  
 communis, -e, *adj.* common; in  
     commune, in common.  
 compārātio, -ōnis, *f.* comparison.  
 compāro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
     compare.  
 compārīo, -ire, -peri, -pertum,  
     *v.a.* find, ascertain; compertus,  
     -a, -um, ascertained, known.  
 compesaco, -ere, -ui, *v.a.* con-  
     fine, restrain, curtail.  
 complector, -i, -plexus, *dep.v.a.*  
     embrace, include, hold fast.  
 compleo, -ere, -ēvi, -ētum, *v.a.*  
     fill full.  
 complexus, -ūs, *m.* embrace,  
     close-quarters, mellay.  
 complōro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
     lament, mourn.  
 compōno, -ēre, -posui, -positum,  
     *v.a.* put together, put in order,  
     settle, compose, blend, make

- up; compōsitus, -a, -um, arranged, studied.  
**comprimo**, -ēre, -pressi, -pressum, v.a. check, abolish.  
**cōnātus**, -īs, m. attempt.  
**concedō**, -ere, -cessi, -cessum, v.a. allow, grant.  
**concīto**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. rouse to fury.  
**concordia**, -ae, f. unity, harmony.  
**concūpisco**, -ere, -cupīvi, -cupitum, v.a. yearn for, desire, covet.  
**condīcio**, -ōnis, f. terms, conditions, circumstances.  
**\*cōnexus**, -a, -um (partic. of conecto), close together.  
**confōro**, -ferre, -tūli, -lātum, v.a. compare, collect.  
**conflicto**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. dash, knock about.  
**conglōbo**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. mass together.  
**congrēdior**, -i, -gressus, dep.v.n. meet.  
**congressus**, -īs, m. meeting (in battle).  
**cōnītor**, -i, -nixus, dep.v.n. strive.  
**coniunctissimus**, -a, -um, superl. adj. very united.  
**coniunx**, coniugis, f. wife.  
**conquisitio**, -ōnis, f. inquiry, investigation.  
**conscientia**, -ae, f. consciousness, knowledge, conscience.  
**conscribo**, -ēre, -scripsi, -scriptum, v.a. enroll, levy.  
**consector**, -ari, -atus, dep.v.a. hunt down, fall upon.  
**consensus**, -īs, m. unanimity, agreement.  
**consēquor**, -i, -secūtus, dep.v.a. follow closely.  
**conservus**, -i, m. fellow-slave.  
**consilium**, -ii, n. plan, design, purpose.  
**consisto**, -ere, -stīti, -stītum, v.n. stand in array.  
**conspectus**, -īs, m. sight.  
**conspirātio**, -onis, f. confederacy.  
**constans**, (gen.) -ntis, adj. settled, firm, strong.  
**constantia**, -ae, f. firmness, steadiness, determination.  
**constat**, -are, -stītit, v.n. it is agreed, it is known.  
**consuētūdo**, -īnis, f. habit, custom.  
**consul**, -is, m. consul; pro consule, proconsul.  
**consulāris**, -e, adj. of consular rank; as subst. ex-consul, consular.  
**consulātus**, -īs, m. consulship.  
**consulō**, -ēre, -ui, -tum, v.n. and a. form plans, take measures, act.  
**contactus**, -īs, m. contact, contagion.  
**contemplātio**, -ōnis, f. contemplation.  
**contentio**, -ōnis, f. quarrels, rivalry.  
**contentus**, -a, -um, adj. satisfied.  
**contēro**, -ere, -trīvi, -trītum, v.a. wear out.  
**contīneo**, -ēre, -tinui, -tentum, v.a. keep, keep hold of.  
**contingo**, -ēre, -tīgi, -tactum, v.n. fall to lot of (dat.).  
**continuo**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. keep up without interruption.  
**continuus**, -a, -um, adj. uninterrupted, unbroken.  
**contrā**, adv. and prep. opposite, against.  
**contrāhō**, -ere, -traxi, -tractum, v.a. draw together, muster.  
**contrārius**, -a, -um, adj. opposed.  
**contūberniū**, -ii, n. companionship, staff-service.  
**contūmācia**, -ae, f. obstinacy, insubordination, defiance.  
**contūmēlia**, -ae, f. insult.

- conventus**, -*üs*, *m.* union, meeting, assizes.  
**convertor**, -*i*, -*versus*, *dep.v.n.* turn.  
**convexus**, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* vaulted, arched.  
**convicium**, -*ii*, *n.* censure, abuse.  
**convivium**, -*ii*, *n.* feast.  
**cōpiae**, -*arum*, *f.* forces, supplies, rations.  
**cornu**, -*us*, *n.* wing (of army).  
**corpus**, -*oris*, *n.* body.  
**corrumpo**, -*ere*, -*rūpi*, -*ruptum*, *v.a.* corrupt.  
**cōvinnārius**, -*ii*, *m.* (and *adj.?*) charioteer.  
**crōber**, -*bra*, -*brum*, *adj.* frequent.  
**crēbro**, *adv.* often; *comp.* *crebris*.  
**crēdibilis**, -*e*, *adj.* credible.  
**crēdo**, -*ere*, *crēdidi*, *crēditum*, *v.n.* believe.  
**crīmen**, -*inis*, *n.* charge, accusation.  
**crīnis**, -*is*, *m.* hair.  
**crīdus**, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* fresh, vigorous.  
**crūentus**, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* blood-stained.  
**culpa**, -*ae*, *f.* fault.  
**cultus**, -*üs*, *n.* training, civilization, education, habit.  
**cum**, *prep.* with.  
**cum**, *conj.* when (with *indic.* and *subj.*); since, although (with *subj.*).  
**cūmilo**, -*are*, -*avi*, -*atum*, *v.a.* increase, put the finish to, surmount.  
**cunetus**, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* all together, all.  
**cūneus**, -*i*, *m.* wedge.  
**cūpiditas**, -*tatis*, *f.* greed.  
**cūpido**, -*inis*, *f.* desire.  
**cūra**, -*ae*, *f.* care, anxiety, worry, management, government, business, trouble, carefulness.  
**cūria**, -*ae*, *f.* senate-house.  
**cūro**, -*are*, -*avi*, -*atum*, *v.a.* manage.  
**currus**, -*üs*, *m.* chariot.  
**cursor**, -*ōris*, *m.* courier.  
**cursus**, -*üs*, *m.* course, series.  
**custōdio**, -*ire*, -*Ivi* and -*ii*, -*itum*, *v.a.* guard.  
**Dācia**, -*ae*, *f.* Dacia, a province on the Danube. (The modern Roumania, Transylvania, and part of Hungary.)  
**damno**, -*are*, -*avi*, -*atum*, *v.a.* condemn.  
**damnum**, -*i*, *n.* loss.  
**dē**, *prep.* about, for.  
**dēbello**, -*are*, -*avi*, -*atum*, *v.a.* conquer.  
**dēcem**, *indecl. adj.* ten.  
**dēcentior**, -*ius*, *comp. adj.* more symmetrical, better-proportioned.  
**dēcerno**, -*ere*, -*crēvi*, -*crētum*, *v.a.* decree, decide.  
**dēcessor**, -*oris*, *m.* predecessor.  
**dēcōrus**, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* honorable.  
**dēcūmus**, -*a*, -*um*, *adj.* tenth.  
**dēcus**, -*oris*, *n.* honour, glory, decoration.  
**dēdō**, -*ere*, -*didi*, -*dītum*, *v.a.* surrender, present.  
**dēducō**, -*ere*, -*duxī*, -*ductum*, *v.a.* lead away.  
**defectio**, -*ōnis*, *f.* rebellion.  
**defendo**, -*ere*, -*fendi*, -*fensum*, *v.a.* defend.  
**defenso**, -*are*, -*avi*, -*atum*, *v.a.* defend.  
**defōro**, -*ferre*, -*tūli*, -*lātum*, *v.a.* convey, bear away.  
**deficio**, -*ere*, -*fēci*, -*fectum*, *v.n.* fail, die.  
**defigo**, -*ere*, -*fixi*, -*fixum*, *v.a.* fix firmly.  
**defunctus**, -*a*, -*um* (*partic.* of *defungor*), dead.  
**degrēdior**, -*i*, -*gressus*, *dep.v.n.* come down, descend.

**dein, deinde, *adv.*** next, afterwards.  
**delēgo, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*** assign, commit.  
**delēnimentum, -i, *n.*** attraction.  
**delibero, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.*** discuss, plan.  
**delictum, -i, *n.*** fault, misdeed.  
**deminuo, -ere, -ui, -utum, *v.a.*** lessen.  
**demum, *adv.*** at last, at length.  
**denoto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*** mark down.  
**densus, -a, -um, *adj.*** thick, close, dense.  
**depōno, -ere, -pōsui, -pōsitum, *v.a.*** lay aside.  
**deposito, -ere, -pōposci, *v.a.*** demand.  
**deprēhendo, -ere, -prēhendi, -prehensum, *v.a.*** overtake, catch, find, detect.  
**derisus, -üs, *m.*** ridicule.  
**\*descendo, -ēre, -scendi, -scendsum, *v.n.*** come down, fall.  
**desidērium, -ii, *n.*** longing.  
**deséro, -ere, -serui, -sertum, *v.a.*** abandon.  
**desidēro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*** yearn for, miss.  
**desidia, -ae, *f.*** idleness, inactivity.  
**desino, -ere, -alvi and -sil, -sītum, *v.a.*** cease.  
**despēro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.*** despair.  
**despondeo, -ere, -spondi, -sponsum, *v.a.*** betroth.  
**destino, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*** intend.  
**desum, -esse, -fui, *v.n.*** be wanting.  
**deterior, -ius, *comp. adj.*** worse.  
**detineo, -ere, -tinui, -tentum, *v.a.*** keep away, keep occupied.  
**detrecto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*** shirk, avoid.  
**deus, -i, *m.*** god.  
**di, *nom. pl.* of **deus**.**

**dico, -ere, dixi, dictum, *v.a.*** say.  
**dictum, -i, *n.*** word.  
**didūco, -ere, -duxī, -ductum, *v.a.*** draw apart, open out.  
**dies, -ēi, *m.* and *f.* day.  
**differo, -ferre, distūli, dilātum, *v.a.*** differ.  
**difficillimus, -a, -um, *superl. adj.*** most difficult.  
**difficultas, -tatis, *f.*** difficulty.  
**dignitas, -tatis, *f.*** honour, position.  
**dignus, -a, -um, *adj.*** worthy.  
**digredior, -i, -gressus, *dep. v.n.*** go off, go apart.  
**dilectus, -üs, *m.*** levy.  
**diligens, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.*** careful, painstaking; *superl.* diligētissimus, -a, -um.  
**dimitto, -ere, -misi, -missum, *v.a.*** send away.  
**dirimo, -ere, -ēmi, -emptum, *v.a.*** separate.  
**diripio, -ere, -ripui, -reptum, *v.a.*** plunder.  
**discedo, -ere, -cessi, -cessum, *v.n.*** go away.  
**discerno, -ēre, -crēvi, -crētum, *v.a.*** make distinctions between.  
**disciplina, -ae, *f.*** discipline.  
**disco, -ere, didīci, *v.a.*** learn.  
**discordans, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.*** at variance, quarrelling.  
**discordia, -ae, *f.*** quarrel, disagreement, mutiny.  
**discrimen, -inis, *n.*** difference, interval, danger.  
**discurro, -ere, -curri and -cū-curri, -cursum, *v.n.*** run about.  
**discursus, -üs, *m.*** manoeuvring.  
**disicio, -ere, -īsci, -lectum, *v.a.*** scatter; *disiectus, -a, -um* (as *subst.*), straggler.  
**dispersus, -a, -um** (*partic.* of *dispergo*), scattered.  
**dispicio, -ere, -spexi, -spectum, *v.a.*** descry.**

- dispōno, -ere, -pōsui, -pōsūtum,** *v.a.* arrange.  
**dissensio, -ōnis, f.** disagreement.  
**dissēro, -ere, -serui, -sertum,** *v.a.* speak, make speech.  
**dissimulātiō, -ōnis, f.** concealment, suppression.  
**dissimulō, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** hide, obscure.  
**dissociabilis, -e, adj.** irreconcilable.  
**dissolvo, -ere, -solvi, -solūtum,** *v.a.* break up.  
**dissōnus, -a, -um, adj.** confused in sound.  
**\*distrāho, -ere, -traxi, -tractum,** *v.a.* divide, distract.  
**diū, adv.** for a long time; *comp.* diutius.  
**diversus, -a, -um, adj.** different; *superl.* diversissimus, -a, -um.  
**divēs, (gen.) -itis, adj.** rich.  
**divido, -ere, -visi, -visum, v.a.** separate, divide.  
**divortium, -ii, n.** by-way, circuitous route.  
**Divus, -i, m.** title of deceased emperor.  
**do, dāre, dēdi, dātum, v.a.** give.  
**dōceo, -ere, -ui, doctum, v.a.** teach.  
**dōcūmentum, -i, n.** example, instance, lesson.  
**dōlor, -ōris, m.** grief.  
**dōmesticus, -a, -um, adj.** at home, private.  
**dōminātiō, -ōnis, f.** tyranny.  
**dōminor, -ari, -atus, dep.v.n.** act as lord, be master.  
**dōminus, -i, m.** lord, master.  
**dōmo, -are, -ui, -itum, v.a.** subdue.  
**dōmus, -īs, f.** house, home, family.  
**dōnec, conj.** until.  
**dōno, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** give, present.  
**dōnum, -i, n.** gift.
- dūbito, -are, -avi, -atum, v.n.**  
 doubt, waver; *dubitatum est de...*, was endangered.  
**dūbium, -ii, n.** doubt.  
**dubius, -a, -um, adj.** wavering, critical.  
**dūco, -ere, duxi, ductum, v.a.**  
 lead, induce, draw, consider.  
**ductus, -īs, m.** leadership.  
**dulcēdo, -īnis, f.** charm, delight.  
**dum, conj.** whilst.  
**dūo, -ae, -o, adj.** two.  
**dūrius, comp. adv.** too harshly.  
**dūro, -are, -avi, -atum, v.n.** remain, last.  
**dux, dūcis, m.** leader, commander.
- ē, ex, prep.** out of, from, in accordance with.  
**editior, -īus, comp. adj.** higher.  
**ēdo, -ere, -didi, -ditum, v.a.** exhibit.  
**ēdōceo, -ere, -docui, -doctum,** *v.a.* inform thoroughly.  
**ēdūco, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** bring up, train.  
**efficio, -ere, -fēci, -fectum, v.a.** bring about.  
**effūgio, -ere, -fūgi, v.a.** escape.  
**ēgeo, -ēre, -ui, v.n.** need.  
**ēgo, mel, pron.** I.  
**egrēdior, -i, -gressus, dep.v.n.** and *a.* go out, land, pass, go beyond.  
**\*egrēgius, -a, -um, adj.** distinguished, excellent.  
**ēlēgantia, -ae, f.** refinement.  
**ēlīgo, -ere, -lēgi, -lectum, v.a.** choose, select.  
**ēlōquens, (gen.) -ntis, adj.** eloquent; *superl.* eloquentissimus, -a, -um.  
**ēlōquentia, -ae, f.** eloquence, oratory, correct speech.  
**eluctor, -ari, -atus, dep. v.a.** struggle against.  
**eminens, (gen.) -ntis, adj.** conspicuous, eminent.

**emineo, -ere, -ui, v.n.** stand out, blaze out.  
**eminus, adv.** at a distance.  
**ēmo, -ere, -ēmi, emptum, v.a.** buy.  
**emollio, -ire, -ivi, -itum, v.a.** enervate.  
**emūnio, -ire, -ivi, -itum, v.a.** put a road over.  
**ēnim, adv.** in fact, for.  
**ēnormis, -e, adj.** unusually great, enormous.  
**eo, ire, ivi and ii, Itum, v.n.** go.  
**eo, adv.** therefore, to that extent, to such a point.  
**ēpistūla, -ae, f.** letter, despatches.  
**ēquēs, -itis, m.** horse-soldier, cavalry, knight.  
**ēquester or -ris, -re, adj.** of cavalry, of knights.  
**ēquidem, adv.** indeed.  
**ēquus, -i, m.** horse.  
**erectus, a, -um, adj.** exalted, elevated.  
**ergā, prep.** towards.  
**ergo, adv.** therefore.  
**erigo, -ere, -rexi, -rectum, v.a.** raise, rouse, set up, send up.  
**eripio, -ere, -ripui, -reptum, v.a.** snatch away.  
**erro, -are, -avi, -atum, v.n.** be mistaken.  
**erūbesco, -ere, -bui, v.n.** blush.  
**erūdio, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, v.a.** train, educate; **eruditus, -a, -um,** trained, skilled.  
**erumpo, -ere, -rūpi, -ruptum, v.n.** sally out.  
**eruptio, -ōnis, f.** sally.  
**\*escendo, -ere, -scendi, -scendum, v.n.** climb up.  
**ēt, adv.** and **conj.** and, also, both, even, but.  
**ētiam, adv.** also, even.  
**etsi, conj.** although.  
**evādo, -ere, -vasi, -vasum, v.a.** pass through, escape.  
**evēnio, -ire, -vēni, -ventum, v.n.** happen, result.

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**eventus, -ūs, m.** issue, result.  
**ex, e, prep.** out of, from, in accordance with.  
**exactio, -ōnis, f.** method of levying (tax).  
**excēsus, -a, -um, adj.** lofty.  
**excidium, -ii, n.** destruction.  
**excido, -ere, -cidi, -cism, v.a.** cut away, remove.  
**excio, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, v.a.** arouse.  
**expīcio, -ere, -cōpi, -ceptum, v.a.** receive, except, exempt, succeed to.  
**\*excitātor, -ius, comp. adj.** more disturbed.  
**excursus, -ūs, m.** raid.  
**exclusātio, -ōnis, f.** excuse.  
**excuso, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** and **n.** excuse, make excuses.  
**excūtio, -ere, -cussi, -cussum, v.a.** shake off, beat off.  
**exemplum, -i, n.** example, pattern, instance, precedent.  
**exerceo, -ere, -ui, -itum, v.a.** employ, use, work; **exercitus, -a, -um,** harassed.  
**exercitātus, -a, -um, adj.** trained,  
**exercitus, -ūs, m.** army.  
**exhaūrio, -ire, -hausi, -hausum, v.a.** drain.  
**exigo, -ere, -sḡi, -actum, v.a.** spend, complete.  
**exiguus, -a, -um, adj.** scanty, small.  
**exilium, -ii, n.** exile.  
**eximo, -ere, -ēmi, -emptum, v.a.** take away.  
**extiōsus, -a, -um, adj.** ruinous.  
**exorābilior, -ius, comp. adj.** more ready to listen to entreaties.  
**expecto, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** look for.  
**expēditio, -ōnis, f.** active service, expedition, campaign.

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**expeditus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unencumbered, active.  
**expello**, -ere, -pūli, -pulsum, *v.a.* expel, banish, throw up (on shore).  
**experimentum**, -i, *n.* trial, experience.  
**expers**, (*gen.*) -rtis, *adj.* free from, with no part in, (with *gen.*).  
**expertus**, -a, -um, *adj.* experienced.  
**explorator**, -ōris, *m.* scout.  
**explore**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* reconnoitre.  
**exprimo**, -ere, -pressi, -pressum, *v.a.* give shape to, express in form.  
**exprobrio**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* upbraid, censure, taunt.  
**expugno**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* storm.  
**exsequor**, -i, -secutus, *dep.v.a.* follow up, punish.  
**extimulo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* goad, urge.  
**exsulto**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* triumph, glory.  
**exsurgo**, -ere, -surrexi, -surrectum, *v.n.* rise up.  
**exteritus**, -a, -um (*partic.* of exterreo), frightened.  
**extinguo**, -ere, -tinxi, -tinctum, *v.a.* extinguish; **extinctus**, -a, -um, dead.  
**extra**, *prep.* outside of, without.  
**extraneus**, -i, *m.* one outside the family, stranger.  
**extremus**, -a, -um, *adj.* furthest, last; *ad extremum*, at last.  
**extrudo**, -ere, -trusi, -trusum, *v.a.* thrust out.  
**extruo**, -ere, -truxi, -tructum, *v.a.* build up.  
**exuo**, -ere, -ui, -atum, *v.a.* put off, cast off.  
**exuro**, -ere, -ussi, -ustum, *v.a.* burn up.

**facies**, -ī, *f.* face, features, appearance, aspect.  
**facile**, *adv.* easily, readily; *comp.* facilius; *superl.* facillime.  
**facilis**, -e, *adj.* easy, ready to act, affable; *ex facilis*, easily.  
**faciitas**, -tātis, *f.* courtesy, good nature, affability.  
**facinus**, -ōris, *n.* deed.  
**facio**, -ere, fēci, factum, *v.a.* make, cause.  
**factio**, -ōnis, *f.* party, party spirit.  
**factum**, -i, *n.* deed, exploit.  
**falsus**, -a, -um, *adj.* false.  
**fama**, -ae, *f.* reputation, report, honour.  
**familia**, -ae, *f.* household.  
**familatus**, -īs, *m.* slave establishment.  
**fas**, *indecl. n.* right.  
**fatigo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* wear out.  
**fatum**, -i, *n.* fate, destiny, natural death.  
**favor**, -ōris, *m.* popularity, devotion.  
**fecundus**, -a, -um, *adj.* fruitful.  
**felicitas**, -tātis, *f.* happiness.  
**felix**, (*gen.*) -cis, *adj.* happy, fortunate.  
**femina**, -ae, *f.* woman.  
**fēri**, -ire (percussi, percussum), *v.a.* strike.  
**fero**, ferre, tūli, lātum, *v.a.* bear, carry, produce, report.  
**fērōcia**, -ae, *f.* boldness, high spirit.  
**fērōcius**, *comp. adv.* more fiercely, boldly.  
**fērox**, (*gen.*) -cis, bold, emboldened, headstrong.  
**festinatio**, -ōnis, *f.* haste.  
**festino**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* hasten.  
**fides**, -ī, *f.* faith, credit, belief, loyalty, honour.  
**fidiissimus**, -a, -um, *superl. adj.* most trusted.  
**fiducia**, -ae, *f.* confidence.

- figo**, -ere, **fixi**, **fixum**, *v.a.* fix.  
**figūra**, -ae, *f.* shape.  
**flia**, -ae, *f.* daughter.  
**filius**, -ii, *m.* son.  
**fingo**, -ere, **finxi**, **fictum**, *v.a.* fashion, invent.  
**finis**, -is, *m.* end, limit, boundary; **fines**, territory.  
**flo**, **flēri**, **factus**, *v.n.* become, be made.  
**firmo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* make strong, strengthen.  
**firmus**, -a, -um, *adj.* strong, unyielding.  
**flagrans**, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* burning, enthusiastic.  
**flōreo**, -ere, -ui, *v.n.* flourish, be at prime, be eminent.  
**fluctus**, -us, *m.* wave.  
**flūmen**, -inis, *n.* river.  
**\*fōdīo**, -ere, **fōdi**, **fōsum**, *v.a.* stab.  
**foedus**, -a, -um, *adj.* foul.  
**foedus**, -ēris, *n.* league.  
**fōre**, **fōret**, *fut. inf.* and *imperf.* subj. of sum.  
**forma**, -ae, *f.* form, shape, appearance.  
**formido**, -inis, *f.* dread, fear.  
**formidōlōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.* inspiring fear.  
**formo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* shape, form.  
**Fōrofūliensis**, -e, *adj.* of Forum Iulii.  
**fortis**, -e, *adj.* brave; *comp.* fortior; *superl.* fortissimus.  
**fortitudo**, -inis, *f.* bravery, courage.  
**fortuitus**, -a, -um, accidental, due to chance.  
**fortūna**, -ae, *f.* fortune, good fortune.  
**fōrum**, *n.* forum, place of business (market, exchange, &c.).  
**fōveo**, -ere, **fōvi**, **fotum**, *v.a.* nurse, tend.  
**frango**, -ere, **frēgi**, **fractum**, *v.a.* break, crush, break down.  
**frēmitus**, -us, *m.* clamour.  
**frēmo**, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.n.* clamour.  
**frēquens**, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* constant, everywhere.  
**frēquentia**, -ae, *f.* concourse.  
**frētum**, -i, *n.* straits.  
**frigus**, -ōris, *n.* cold.  
**Frisii**, -orum, *m.* the Frisians.  
**frons**, -ntis, *m.* forehead, face, external looks; **a fronte**, in frontem, in the front; **in frontem**, marching forwards.  
**fruges**, -um, *f.* crops.  
**frumentum**, -i, *n.* corn-supply, corn-tribute.  
**frustrā**, *adv.* in vain.  
**fūga**, -ae, *f.* flight, banishment.  
**fūgacissimus**, -a, -um, *superl.* adj. the greatest runaway.  
**fūgio**, -ere, **fūgi**, **fūgitum**, *v.n.* flee.  
**fulgeo**, -ere, **fulsi**, *v.n.* flash.  
**fulgor**, -ōris, *m.* flash, brightness, light.  
**fūmo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* smoke.  
**fūnus**, -ēris, *n.* death.  
**fūto** (*abl.* of furtum), by stealth.  
**fūtūrum**, -i, *n.* the future.  
  
**Gallia**, -ae, *f.* Gaul.  
**Gallicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* of Gaul, Gallic.  
**Gallus**, -i, *m.* a Gaul.  
**gaudeo**, -ere, **gāvisus sum**, *v.n.* take pleasure.  
**gaudium**, -ii, *n.* joy.  
**gens**, **gentis**, *f.* nation, tribe.  
**gēnus**, -ēris, *n.* race, kind, birth.  
**Germania**, -ae, *f.* Germany; the Roman province; Germany proper.  
**Germanicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* of Germany, Germanic.  
**Germanus**, -i, *m.* a German.  
**gēro**, -ere, **gessi**, **gestum**, *v.a.* carry.

gesto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* wear.  
 gestum, -i, *n.* deed, exploit.  
 gigno, -ere, gēnui, gēnitum, *v.a.* produce.  
 glādīus, -ii, *m.* sword.  
 glōria, -ae, *f.* honour, glory, prominence.  
 gnārus, -a, -um, *adj.* having knowledge.  
 grandis, -e, *adj.* great, large, fine.  
 grātia, -ae, *f.* favour, partiality, grace, charm, thanks.  
 Graupius, -ii, *m.* a mountain (unknown) in Caledonia.  
 grāvis, -e, *adj.* heavy, severe, grievous, earnest; *comp.* gravior, -ius.  
 gübernātor, -ōris, *m.* navigator.  
 häbeo, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.a.* have, hold, regard.  
 häbito, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* inhabit.  
 häbitus, -üs, *m.* stamp, character, dress, physical appearance.  
 hactēnūs, *adv.* so far.  
 haereo, -ere, haesi, haesum, *v.n.* stick, be hemmed in.  
 haud, *adv.* (with single word), not.  
 haurio, -ire, hausi, haustum, *v.a.* drain, drink deep of.  
 hēres, herēdis, *m.* heir.  
 hiberna, -orum, *n.* winter-quarters.  
 Hibernia, -ae, *f.* Ireland.  
 Hibērus, -i, *m.* an Iberian (Spaniard).  
 hic, haec, hoc, *adj. pron.* this, he, &c.  
 hic, *adv.* here.  
 hiems, hiēmis, *f.* winter.  
 hinc, *adv.* hence, next; hinc... hinc, on this side and on that.  
 Hispania, -ae, *f.* Spain.  
 hōdiē, *adv.* to-day.  
 hōdiernus, -a, -um, *adj.* of to-day.

hömo, -inis, *m.* man.  
 hönestus, -a, -um, *adj.* honorable, virtuous; *comp.* honestior.  
 hönor (honos), -ōris, *m.* honour, respect, office.  
 horreum, -i, *n.* granary, barn.  
 hortor, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.a.* exhort, urge.  
 hospēs, -itīs, *m.* guest.  
 hostilis, -e, *adj.* of an enemy, hostile.  
 hostiliter, *adv.* as an enemy.  
 hostis, -is, *m.* enemy.  
 hūc, *adv.* hither.  
 hūmānitas, -tatis, *f.* culture, civilization.  
 hūmānus, -a, -um, *adj.* human.  
 hūmilis, -e, *adj.* low, humble, humiliated.  
 hūmus, -i, *f.* ground.  
 iactantia, -ae, *f.* boasting.  
 iactatio, -ōnis, *f.* boasting, self-display.  
 iam, *adv.* now, already; iam pridem, long since.  
 Ibi, *adv.* there.  
 ictus, -üs, *m.* blow, thrust.  
 Idem, eadem, idem, *adj. pron.* the same.  
 \*Identidem, *adv.* repeatedly.  
 Ideo, *adv.* therefore.  
 idūs, -uum, *f.* the ides (13th or 15th of month).  
 Igitur, *adv.* therefore.  
 ignārus, -a, -um, *adj.* ignorant.  
 ignāvia, -ae, *f.* cowardice.  
 ignāvus, -a, -um, *adj.* cowardly.  
 ignis, -is, *m.* fire.  
 ignōbilis, -e, *adj.* obscure, obscuring.  
 ignōrantia, -ae, *f.* ignorance, want of appreciation.  
 ignosco, -ere, -novi, -notum, *v.a.* pardon (with dat. of person).  
 ignōtus, -a, -um, *adj.* unknown, not knowing.  
 illācessitus, -a, -um, *adj.* not harassed, well-guarded.

**ille**, -a, -ud, *adj. pron.* that, he, &c.  
**illuc**, *adv.* to that place, thither.  
**imāgo**, -inis, *f.* likeness, image.  
**imbēcillus**, -a, -um, *adj.* weak, perishable.

**imbellis**, -e, *adj.* unwarlike.  
**imber**, -bris, *m.* rain.

\***immortālis**, -e, *adj.* immortal.  
**impello**, -ere, -puli, -pulsum, *v.a.* drive, charge, push forward.

**impératiōris**, -a, -um, *adj.* imperial.

**impēritus**, -a, -um, *adj.* ignorant, inexperienced.

**impēriūm**, -ii, *m.* empire, sovereignty.

**impēro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* and *n.* order, command.

**impētus**, -ūs, *m.* force, rush, charge, impetuosity.

**impigre**, *adv.* readily.  
**impleo**, -ere, -evi, -etum, *v.a.* fulfil.

**impōno**, -ere, -posui, -positum, *v.a.* put over or upon, put as a crown on.

**impōto**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* credit, ascribe.

**in**, *prep. acc.* into, against, towards, with a view to; *abl.* in, in case of.

**inaequālis**, -e, *adj.* uneven, not level.

**ināne**, -is, *n.* vanity.  
**inānis**, -e, *adj.* idle, vain.

**incautus**, -a, -um, *adj.* incautious, careless.

**incēdo**, -ere, -cessi, -cessum, *v.n.* march.

**incendo**, -ere, -cendi, -censum, *v.a.* set fire to, excite.

**incertus**, -a, -um, *adj.* uncertain, indistinct, undefined, doubtful.

**incipio**, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.a.* begin.

**incitāmentum**, -i, *n.* inducement.  
**inclāresco**, -ere, -clarui, *v.n.*

become famous.

**incognitus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unknown.

**incōho**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* begin.

**incōla**, -ae, *m.* and *f.* inhabitant.  
**incōlo**, -ere, -colui, -cultum, *v.a.* inhabit.

**incōlūmis**, -e, *adj.* safe, unharmed.

**incōlūmitas**, -tatis, *f.* safety.

**inconditūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* untrained, uncouth.

**incorruptus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unbiased, sincere.

**incresto**, -ere, -crēvi, *v.n.* grow.  
**increuentus**, -a, -um, *adj.* bloodless.

**incūria**, -ae, *f.* carelessness.  
**incūrōsus**, -a, -um, *adj.* heedless, indifferent (with gen.).

**incursō**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* swoop upon, raid.  
**incūsō**, -are, -avl, -atum, *v.a.* censure.

**indāgo**, -inis, *f.* driving game (in hunting).

**indēcōrus**, -a, -um, *adj.* disgraced.

**indicium**, -ii, *n.* sign, indication, report.

**indico**, -ere, -dixi, -dictum, *v.a.* order.

**indigēna**, -ae, *m.* and *f.* a native.  
**indōmitus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unsubdued.

**indulgentia**, -ae, *f.* loving care.

**indulgeo**, -ere, -si, -tum, *v.n.* indulge in, allow one's self.

**industria**, -ae, *f.* energy.

**inermis**, -e, *adj.* unarmed.

**iners**, (gen.) -rtis, *adj.* inactive, cowardly.

**inertia**, -ae, *f.* inactivity, idleness.

**infensus**, -a, -um, *adj.* hostile.

**infēro**, -ferre, -tūli, -lātum, *v.a.*

carry, spread, cause.

**infestus**, -a, -um, *adj.* beset, hostile; comp. **infestior**, -ius.

**infirmitas**, -tatis, *f.* weakness.

**infirmus**, -a, -um, *adj.* weak;  
*superl.* **infirmissimus**, -a, -um.  
**influo**, -ere, -fluxi, -fluxum, *v.n.*  
 flow, flock in.  
**infra**, *prep.* below.  
**ingenium**, -ii, *n.* intellect, genius,  
 character.  
**ingens**, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* great,  
 large.  
**inglorius**, -a, -um, *adj.* without  
 honour, without fame.  
**ingratus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unpleas-  
 ing, unwelcome.  
**ingredior**, -i, -gressus, *dep.v.a.*  
 enter.  
**inhabilis**, -e, *adj.* awkward to  
 handle.  
**inimicus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unfriendly.  
**iniquissimus**, -a, -um, *superl. adj.*  
 most unfair.  
**initium**, -ii, *n.* beginning.  
**iniquus**, -a, -um, *adj.* un-  
 pleasant.  
**injungo**, -ere, -iunxi, -iunctum,  
*v.a.* charge, enjoin, order.  
**injustia**, -ae, *f.* injustice, wrong-  
 doing.  
**iniuste**, *adv.* unjustly.  
**inlecebra**, -ae, *f.* allurement.  
**inlicitus**, -a, -um, *adj.* unlawful;  
 in *n.pl.* disloyalty.  
**inlustris**, -e, *adj.* famous, illus-  
 trious.  
**inlustro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 make famous.  
**immensus**, -a, -um, *adj.* bound-  
 less, immense.  
**inmīneo**, -ere, *v.n.* overhang,  
 threaten (*dat.*).  
**inmisceo**, -ere, -mixui, -mixtum,  
*v.a.* join, blend; **inmixtus**, -a,  
 -um, attached.  
**inmitto**, -ere, -misi, -missum,  
*v.a.* fling upon, let loose.  
**innōcens**, (*gen.*) -ntis, upright,  
 innocent.  
**innōcentia**, -ae, *f.* uprightness,  
 integrity, innocence.  
**inōpia**, -ae, *f.* want, poverty.

**inprimis**, *adv.* especially.  
**inquisitio**, -ōnis, *f.* espionage.  
**inrēvocāblier**, -ius, *comp. adj.*  
 more difficult to appease,  
 more implacable.  
**inscitia**, -ae, *f.* ignorance, inex-  
 perience.  
**insēquor**, -i, -secūtus, *dep.v.a.*  
 follow up.  
**insēro**, -ere, -serui, -sertum, *v.a.*  
 push, thrust in.  
**insēdo**, -ere, -sēdi, -sessum, *v.a.*  
 take position on, occupy.  
**insignio**, -ire, -Ivi, -Itum, *v.a.*  
 mark.  
**inspicio**, -ere, -spexi, -spectum,  
*v.a.* behold.  
**instinctus**, -a, -um, *adj.* inspired,  
**insto**, -are, -stīti, *v.n.* press  
 upon (*dat.*).  
**instrumentum**, -i, *n.* tool, instru-  
 ment.  
**instruo**, -ere, -xi, -ctum, *v.a.*  
 furnish, draw up.  
**instīla**, -ae, *f.* island.  
**insum**, -esse, -fui, *v.n.* be in.  
**insūmo**, -ere, -sumpsi, -sump-  
 tum, *v.a.* spend.  
**instīper**, *adv.* further, moreover.  
**insurgo**, -ere, -rexī, -rectum,  
*v.n.* rise up.  
**intēger**, -rā, -rum, *adj.* whole,  
 unwounded, unscathed, un-  
 conquered, upright.  
**integre**, *adv.* uprightly.  
**integritas**, -tatis, *f.* uprightness.  
**intendo**, -ere, -tendi, -tentum,  
*v.n.* (with *animo*), intend.  
**intentus**, -a, -um, *adj.* energetic,  
 watchful.  
**inter**, *prep.* among, between,  
 during.  
**intercedo**, -ere, -cessi, -cessum,  
*v.n.* forbid, veto, (with *dat.*).  
**intercedo**, -ere, -clidi, *v.n.* fall  
 meanwhile.  
**intercipio**, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum,  
*v.a.* take off, remove, appro-  
 priate, purloin, catch.

- interficio, -ere, -feci, -fectum, v.a. kill.
- intērim, adv. meanwhile.
- internosco, -ere, -novi, -notum, v.a. distinguish.
- interpretatio, -ōnis, f. construction.
- interpretor, -ari, -atus, dep.v.a. explain, account for.
- interritus, -a, -um, adj. unfrightened.
- interrōgo, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. question.
- interseptus, -a, -um, adj. separated (partic. of intersepio).
- intersum, -esse, -fui, v.n. be present.
- intervallo, -i, n. interval.
- Intimilium, -ii, n. a town of Liguria: now Ventimiglia.
- intimus, -a, -um, superl. adj. inmost, intimate.
- intolérantia, -ae, f. overbearing conduct.
- intrā, prep. within.
- intrēpidus, -a, -um, adj. free from alarm.
- intro, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. and n. enter.
- intrōitus, -is, m. entrance.
- intueor, -eri, -itus, dep.v.a. look upon.
- invādo, -ere, -vasi, -vasum, v.a. attack.
- invālidus, -a, -um, adj. weak.
- invēnio, -ire, -vēni, -ventum, v.a. find, discover.
- invictus, -a, -um, adj. unconquered, invincible.
- invidia, -ae, f. envy, invidiousness.
- inviolātus, -a, -um, adj. unharmed, unpolluted.
- invisus, -a, -um, adj. hated.
- \*invitāmentum, -i, n. inducement.
- invius, -a, -um, adj. without roads, inaccessible.
- ipse, -a, -um, pron. self, the very.
- Ira, -ae, f. anger.
- Irācundia, -ae, f. irascibility, rage.
- irritāmentum, -i, n. means for exciting.
- irritātus, -a, -um, adj. enraged.
- irritus, -a, -um, adj. vain, useless, effecting nothing.
- irrumpo, -ere, -rūpi, -ruptum, v.n. burst upon.
- is, ea, id, pron. this, that, he, &c.
- Itā, adv. thus, so.
- Item, adv. likewise.
- Itēr, Itinēris, n. road, journey, march.
- \*Itērātus, -a, -um, adj. repeated.
- iubeo, -ere, iussi, iussum, v.a. order.
- iudicium, -ii, n. court of justice, good opinion.
- iugum, -i, n. yoke, hill-side, ridge.
- iungo, -ere, iunxi, functum, v.a. join.
- Iūnius, -a, -um, adj. June.
- iūrisdictio, -ōnis, f. court-business.
- iuste, adv. justly.
- iustus, -a, -um, adj. just.
- iūvēnīlis, -e, adj. youthful.
- iūvēnis, -is, m. young man, man in prime of life.
- iuventa, -ae, f. the prime of life.
- iuventūs, -ūtis, f. the prime of life, the manhood.
- iuxta, adv. alike, equally.
- kälendae, -arum, f. the calends, or 1st of each month.
- lābor, -ōris, m. toil.
- lābōro, -are; -avi, -atum, v.n. (in impers. pass.) there was trouble.
- lācēr, -era, -erum, adj. mutilated.
- lācessō, -ere, -lvi, -litum, v.a. attack first.
- lacrima, -ae, f. tear.

- laedo, -ere, laesi, laesum, *v.a.*  
hurt, injure.
- laetitia, -ae, *f.* joy, gladness.
- laetor, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.n.* to  
be glad.
- laetus, -a, -um, *adj.* glad, re-  
joicing.
- lamentum, -i, *n.* lamentation,  
mourning.
- languesco, -ere, langui, *v.n.*  
grow faint.
- lascivia, -ae, *f.* riotous living.
- lascivio, -ire, -ii, *v.n.* run riot.
- latebra, -ae, *f.* hiding-place, hole.
- latius, *comp. adv.* more widely.
- latus, -eris, *n.* flank, side.
- laudo, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
praise.
- laureatae (*sc. literae*), *adj.* de-  
spatches wreathed with laurel.
- laus, laudis, *f.* praise, glory.
- lectissimus, -a, -um, *superl. adj.*  
picked.
- legatio, -onis, *f.* embassy, office  
of legatus, command.
- legatus, -i, *m.* deputy, governor,  
commander of legion.
- legio, -onis, *f.* legion.
- lego, -ere, legi, lectum, *v.a.*  
read, gather, choose, hug (of  
ships).
- lenio, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum,  
*v.a.* soften.
- lente, *adv.* slowly.
- lentus, -a, -um, slow.
- libens, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* willing.
- libenter, *adv.* willingly.
- liber, -ri, *m.* book.
- liberalis, -e, *adj.* befitting the  
free, liberal.
- liberi, -orum, *m.* children.
- libertas, -tatis, *f.* freedom.
- libertus, -i, *m.* freedman.
- libido, -inis, *f.* lust, caprice.
- liburnica, -ae, *f.* a fast cruiser.
- licenter, *adv.* without restraint,  
without control.
- licentia, -ae, *f.* excess of liberty,  
license.
- licet, -ere, -uit, *v.n.* it is allowed.
- licet, *adv.* although.
- Liguria, -ae, *f.* Liguria (district  
of N.W. Italy, about Genoa).
- limēs, -itis, *m.* boundary, frontier.
- lingua, -ae, *f.* language.
- litus, -oris, *n.* shore, coast.
- livens, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* blackish,  
lead-coloured.
- livor, -oris, *m.* spite.
- loco, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* place.
- locuples, (*gen.*) -ētis, *adj.*  
wealthy, rich.
- locus, -i, *m.* place (*pl.* loca and  
loci); loco = in place of.
- longe, *adv.* far.
- longinquitas, -tatis, *f.* distance.
- longinquus, -a, -um, *adj.* distant.
- longus, -a, -um, *adj.* long, far;  
*superl.* adj. longissimus, -a,  
-um.
- loquor, -i, locutus, *dep. v.a.*  
speak.
- luctosus, -a, -um, *adj.* gainful.
- luctuosus, -a, -um, *adj.* mourn-  
ful.
- luctus, -is, *m.* grief, mourning.
- ludi, -orum, *m.* public games.
- ludibrium, -ii, *n.* mockery.
- ludo, -ere, lusi, lusum, *v.n.* play.
- lugeo, -ere, luxi, luctum, *v.n.*  
and a. mourn.
- lux, lucis, *f.* light, daylight.
- luxuria, -ae, *f.* extravagance.
- maeror, -oris, *m.* mourning,  
sorrow.
- maestitia, -ae, *f.* sadness.
- mägis, *comp. adv.* more.
- mägistra, -ae, *f.* mistress.
- mägistratus, -is, *m.* magistracy,  
civil duties.
- magnificus, -a, -um, *adj.* mag-  
nificent, great.
- magnilöquus, -a, -um, *adj.* talk-  
ing loudly or boastfully.
- magnus, -a, -um, *adj.* great;  
*comp.* maior, -us; *superl.*  
maximus, -a, -um.

**maiōres**, -um, *m.* ancestors, seniors.  
**māle**, *adv.* badly, ill, not.  
**mālignitas**, -tatis, *f.* wickedness.  
**mālo**, *malle*, malui, *v.a.* choose rather.  
**mālum**, -i, *n.* ill, evil.  
**mālus**, -a, -um, *adj.* bad, evil.  
**mancipium**, -ii, *n.* slave.  
**mandātum**, -i, *n.* command.  
**māneo**, -ere, mansi, mansum, *v.n.* remain.  
**mānes**, -ium, *m.* spirits.  
**mānūpūlus**, -i, *m.* maniple, company of two centuries (3 to each cohort).  
**mānus**, -üs, *f.* hand, band.  
**māre**, -is, *n.* sea.  
**mārgāritum**, -i, *n.* pearl.  
**māritus**, -i, *m.* husband.  
**marmor**, -ōris, *n.* marble.  
**māter**, -tris, *f.* mother.  
**mātēria**, -ae, } *f.* material.  
**mātēries**, -ei, } *f.* material.  
**mātrimōnium**, -ii, *n.* marriage.  
**maxime**, *superl. adv.* most, especially.  
**mēdīcus**, -i, *m.* physician.  
**mēdium**, -ii, *n.* the middle space; medio, between.  
**mēdius**, -a, -um, *adj.* mid, middle.  
**mēlius**, *comp. adv.* better.  
**mēmōrābilis**, -e, *adj.* worth recording, famous.  
**mēmōrātus**, -üs, *m.* mention, relation.  
**mēmōria**, -ae, *f.* recollection, memory.  
**mēmōro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* relate, mention.  
**mens**, *mentis*, *f.* mind, intellect, feeling.  
**mensūra**, -ae, *f.* measure.  
**mēreor**, -ēri, -itus, *dep. v.a.* earn.  
**mēridies**, -ei, *f.* south.  
**mētallum**, -i, *n.* metal; in *pl.* (especially) mines, working in mines.  
**mētuo**, -ere, -ui, -ūtum, *v.a.* fear.

**mētus**, -üs, *m.* fear, cause of fear.  
**meus**, -a, -um, *pron. adj.* my, mine.  
**mīlēs**, -itis, *m.* soldier.  
**mīlia**, -ium, *n.* thousands.  
**mīlitāris**, -e, *adj.* of soldiers.  
**mīlitia**, -ae, *f.* military service.  
**minister**, -ri, *m.* servant.  
**ministērium**, -ii, *n.* service, body of servants.  
**ministro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* supply.  
**minus**, *minime*, *comp.* and *superl.* *adv.* less, least.  
**mīnūtus**, -a, -um (*partic.* of minuo), lessened.  
**mīrāculum**, -i, *n.* wonder, apportion.  
**mīror**, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.a.* wonder at, admire.  
**mīrus**, -a, -um, *adj.* wonderful.  
**misceo**, -ere, mixui, mixtum, *v.a.* add, join, mingle, blend, unite.  
**mīsēr**, -era, -erum, *adj.* wretched.  
**mīsērātio**, -ōnis, *f.* compassion.  
**mīsēreor**, -ēri, -itus, *dep. v.n.* pity (with *gen.*).  
**mīsēria**, -ae, *f.* (*plural mostly*), wretchedness, misery.  
**mīsēricors**, (*gen.*) -cordis, *adj.* merciful, compassionate.  
**missile**, -is, *n.* missile.  
**mitesco**, -ere, *v.n.* ripen.  
**mitigo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* tone down, lessen.  
**mitior**, -ius, *comp. adj.* more gentle, merciful.  
**mitto**, -ere, misi, missum, *v.a.* send.  
**mōbillis**, -e, *adj.* fickle.  
**mōdērātio**, -ōnis, *f.* self-restraint, moderation.  
**mōdērātus**, -a, -um, *adj.* restrained, cautious.  
**mōdestia**, -ae, *f.* obedience, orderliness.  
**mōdīcus**, -a, -um, *adj.* moderate.

mödo, *adv.* only, but, lately, now...now; (*with subjunct.*) if but.

mödus, -i, *m.* moderation, the mean, manner; *eius modi*, of that kind.

Moesia, -ae, *f.* Moesia, a Roman province in the Balkans; mod. Bulgaria and Servia (roughly).

möles, -is, *f.* mass, weight. mollio, -ire, -ivi, -itum, *v.a.* soften, lighten.

mömentum, -i, *n.* fluctuation, crisis.

Möna, -ae, *f.* Anglesey.

mons, montis, *m.* mountain.

monstro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* show, point out, display.

mönumentum, -i, *n.* memorial.

möra, -ae, *f.* delay, long period, slowness.

mörior, -i, mortuus, *dep. v.n.* die.

mors, mortis, *f.* death.

mortalis, -e, *m.* mortal.

mös, möris, *m.* custom; also in *pl.* mores, character, morals.

mötus, -üs, *m.* rising.

mox, *adv.* soon.

mucro, -önis, *f.* sword-point.

müliebris, -e, *adj.* womanish.

müliebriter, *adv.* in womanish way.

mülier, -öris, *f.* woman.

multitudo, -inis, *f.* host.

multus, -a, -um, *adj.* much, many; multum, to great extent, much; multo, by much.

münicipium, -ii, *n.* township.

münimentum, -i, *n.* fortification.

münio, -ire, -ivi, -itum, *v.a.* fortify.

münus, -öris, *n.* burden, duty, service due to state.

mütatio, -önis, *f.* exchange.

müto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* change.

mütus, -a, -um, *adj.* mutual.

nam, namque, *adv.* for.

narro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* relate, tell.

nascor, -i, natus, *dep. v.n.* be born.

nästales, -ium, *m.* lineage, family.

näatio, -önis, *f.* tribe.

näatura, -ae, *f.* nature, world, character; **natura rerum**, the elements, the world.

nätfirälis, -e, *adj.* natural.

nauticus, -a, -um, *adj.* naval.

nävis, -is, *f.* ship.

né, *adv.* a sign of question, whether.

né, *adv.* not; (*with subjunct.*) lest; ná...quidem, not...even.

nébtula, -ae, *f.* mist, fog.

nec, neque, *conj.* and not, nor; nec enim, nor in fact.

necessitas, -tatis, *f.* compulsion, necessity.

négötiator, -öris, *m.* businessman, dealer.

némo, -inis, *m.* no one.

néque. See nec.

néqueo, -ire, -ivi, *v.n.* be unable.

nescio, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, *v.a.* be ignorant of, be unable.

neuter, -ra, -rum, *adj.* neither.

néve, *conj.* nor.

ni, nisi, *conj.* unless.

nihil, *n.* nothing.

nimius, -a, -um, *adj.* too much, too strong, excessive.

nisi. See ni.

nitor, -i, nitus, *dep. v.n.* strive.

no, näre, navi, natum, *v.n.* swim.

nöllis, -e, *adj.* notable, noble; superl. nobilissimus, -a, -um.

nöbilitas, -tatis, *f.* nobility.

noctu, *adv.* by night.

nömen, -inis, *n.* name.

nön, *adv.* not; non iam, no longer.

nondum, *adv.* not yet.

nönnus, -a, -um, *adj.* ninth.

nosco, -ere, növi, nötum, *v.a.* learn.

**nōtābilis**, -e, *adj.* conspicuous.  
**nōtitia**, -ae, *f.* knowledge.  
**nōtus**, -a, -um, *adj.* known  
 (*partic.* of *nosco*).  
**nōvissimus**, -a, -um, *superl. adj.*  
 last, in the rear.  
**nōvus**, -a, -um, *adj.* new.  
**nox**, *noctis*, *f.* night.  
**nūbes**, -is, *f.* cloud.  
**nullus**, -a, -um, *adj.* none.  
**nūmēro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 count.  
**nūmērōssimus**, -a, -um, *superl.*  
*adj.* most populous.  
**nūmērus**, -i, *m.* numbers, con-  
 tingent, lot.  
**nunc**, *adv.* now, as it is.  
**nunquam**, *adv.* never.  
**nuntius**, -ii, *m.* message, news.  
**nūper**, *adv.* lately.  
**nusquam**, *adv.* nowhere.  
  
**ōb**, *prep.* on account of.  
**obeo**, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum,  
*v.a.* discharge.  
**oblivio**, -ōnis, *f.* forgetfulness.  
**obliviscor**, -i, *oblitus*, *dep. v.n.*  
 forget.  
**oblongus**, -a, -um, *adj.* oblong.  
**obruo**, -ere, -ui, -tūm, *v.a.*  
 overwhelm, crush.  
**obscūrus**, -a, -um, *v.a.* veiled,  
 hidden, hinting; *comp.* ob-  
 scūrior, -ius.  
**obsēquium**, -ii, *n.* obedience.  
**obsēquor**, -i, -secūtus, *dep. v.n.*  
 obey.  
**obses**, -īdis, *m.* and *f.* hostage.  
**obsideo**, -ere, -sessi, -sessum,  
*v.a.* block.  
**obscūdō**, -ōnis, *f.* siege.  
**obstūpēfācio**, -ere, -feci, -fac-  
 tum, *v.a.* amaze.  
**obtendo**, -ere, -tendi, -tentum,  
*v.a.* stretch opposite.  
**obtēro**, -ere, -trīvi, -tritum, *v.a.*  
 crush, annihilate.  
**obtineo**, -ere, -tenui, -tentum,  
*v.a.* hold, maintain, secure.

**obtrectātio**, -ōnis, *f.* censure,  
 detraction.  
**obtūsior**, -ius, *comp. adj.* duller,  
 blunter.  
**obvēnīo**, -ire, -veni, -ventum,  
*v.n.* fall to.  
**obvius**, -a, -um, *adj.* meeting,  
 to meet, in front; *obviam*, in  
 way of (*dat.*).  
**occāsio**, -ōnis, *f.* opportunity.  
**occidens**, -ntis, *m.* the east.  
**occido**, -ere, *occidi*, *occāsum*,  
*v.n.* set.  
**occido**, -ere, *occidi*, *occīsum*,  
*v.a.* kill.  
**occultius**, *comp. adv.* rather se-  
 cretly, in somewhat guarded  
 way.  
**occūpo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 seize upon first, seize.  
**occurro**, -ere, -curri, -cursum,  
*v.n.* meet.  
**Ōcēānus**, -i, *m.* Ocean (esp. the  
 German Ocean).  
**octo**, *indecl. adj.* eight.  
**ōculus**, -i, *m.* eye.  
**ōdi**, -isse, *osurus*, *v.a.* hate.  
**ōdium**, -ii, *n.* hatred.  
**offendo**, -ere, -fendi, -fensum,  
*v.a.* give offence to, hurt.  
**offero**, -ferre, *obtūli*, *oblātum*,  
*v.a.* offer, present.  
**officio**, -ere, -fēci, *fectum*, *v.a.*  
 block the way, obstruct, hide.  
**officium**, -ii, *n.* duty, sphere of  
 duty, service, attentions, com-  
 plimentary receptions.  
**ōlēa**, -ae, *f.* olive.  
**ōlim**, *adv.* formerly, previously.  
**ōmīnor**, -ari, -ātus, *dep. v.a.*  
 foretell, prognosticate.  
**ōmitto**, -ere, -misi, -missum, *v.a.*  
 neglect, pass over.  
**omnis**, -e, *adj.* all.  
**ōpēra**, -ae, *f.* work, services.  
**ōpinio**, -ōnis, *f.* public opinion,  
 expectation.  
**oppērior**, -iri, -pertus, *dep. v.a.*  
 wait to see.

- oppōno, -ere, -posui, -positum,** *v.a.* present, offer.
- opportūnitas, -tatis, f.** right moment, suitableness; (*locorum*), advantageous position.
- opportūnus, -a, -um, adj.** handy, convenient.
- opprimo, -ere, -pressi, -pressum,** *v.a.* crush, stamp out.
- oppugno, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** attack.
- (*ops*), **-is, f.** help; in *pl.* *opes*, wealth.
- optime, superl.** *adv.* best.
- optimus, -a, -um, superl.** *adj.* best.
- opus, -ōris, n.** work; (with *est* = need).
- ōra, -ae, f.** shore.
- ōrātio, -ōnis, f.** speech.
- orbis, -is, m.** the world (with and without *terrārum*).
- Orcādes, -um, f.** the Orkney Islands.
- ordior, -iri, orsus, dep.v.n.** begin.
- ordo, -inis, m.** order, rank.
- Ordovices, -um, m.** a British tribe (N.Wales).
- ōriens, -ntis, m.** the East.
- ōrigo, -inis, f.** origin.
- ōrior, -iri, ortus, dep.v.n.** arise, dawn, spring, grow.
- ornāmentum, -i, m.** adornment, ornament.
- ortus, -a, -um (partic. of orior),** sprung.
- ortus, -ūs, m.** dawn.
- ōs, ūris, n.** mouth, face.
- oscūlum, -i, n.** kiss.
- ostendo, -ere, ostendi, ostentum, v.a.** show, present.
- ostentātio, -ōnis, f.** display.
- ostento, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** display, hold out.
- ōthōniānus, -a, -um, adj.** belonging to Otho.
- ōtiōsus, -a, -um, adj.** peaceful.
- ōtium, -ii, n.** leisure, peace.
- pāciscor, -i, pactus, dep.v.a.** bargain for.
- pactio, -ōnis, f.** agreement.
- paene, adv.** almost.
- paenitentia, -ae, f.** repentance, regret.
- paenitēt, -ēre, -uit, v.a.** regret (*acc.* and *gen.*).
- pallor, -ōris, m.** paleness, scared look.
- pālor, -ari, -atus, dep.v.n.** wander, roam.
- pālus, -ūdis, f.** marsh, swamp.
- Pannonia, -ae, f.** Pannonia, one of the Balkan provinces of Rome, roughly Bosnia and Montenegro.
- pār, (gen.) pāris, adj.** equal, like, fit.
- pārātus, -ūs, m.** preparation.
- pārātus, -a, -um (partic. of paro),** prepared.
- parco, -ere, pēpercī, parsum,** *v.n.* spare (*dat.*).
- pārens, -ntis, m.** and *f.* parent.
- pārentes, -iūm, m.** subjects.
- pāreo, -ēre, -ui, v.n.** obey (*dat.*).
- \***pārīter, equally.**
- pāro, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a.** acquire.
- pars, partis, f.** side, part, direction; in *pl.* political party.
- parsimōnia, -ae, f.** thrif.
- parta, -orūm, n.** things acquired (from *pārio*).
- pārum, adv.** too little.
- parvūlus, -a, -um, adj.** very small, still a child.
- parvus, -a, -um, adj.** small.
- pasco, -ere, pāvi, pastum, v.a.** feed.
- passim, adv.** on all sides, in all directions.
- pātēfācio, -ere, -fēci, -factum,** *v.a.* open.
- pāteo, -ēre, -ui, v.n.** lie open.
- pātēr, -ris, m.** father.
- pāternus, -a, -um, adj.** belonging to a father.

patiens, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* supporting, producing (*gen.*).  
 pātientia, -ae, *f.* submission, patience, long-suffering.  
 pātior, -i, *passus*, *dep.v.a.* suffer, allow.  
 patria, -ae, *f.* native land.  
 patrīcius, -ii, *m.* a patrician.  
 patrimōnium, -ii, *n.* inherited estate.  
 \*patrius, -a, -um, *adj.* national.  
 paucitas, -tatis, *f.* fewness.  
 paucus, -a, -um, *adj.* (mostly *pl.*) few; *comp.* paucior, -ius.  
 paulatīm, *adv.* gradually.  
 pauper, (*gen.*) -ēris, *adj.* poor.  
 pāvesco, -ere, *v.n.* fear, tremble.  
 pāvidus, -a, -um, *adj.* trembling, alarmed.  
 pax, pācīs, *f.* peace.  
 peccātum, -i, *n.* misdeed, fault.  
 pecco, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* commit offences (esp. in government of provinces).  
 pectus, -ōris, *n.* heart.  
 pēdēs, -ītis, *m.* on foot, foot-soldier, infantry.  
 pello, -ere, pēpūli, pulsum, *v.a.* drive about, rout.  
 pēnēs, *prep.* with.  
 pēnētrālia, -ium, *n.* the sanctuary.  
 pēnetro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* traverse, go right through.  
 pēnitus, *adv.* far within, deeply.  
 penso, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* balance.  
 per, *prep.* through, by means of, in.  
 percōlo, -ere, -cōlui, -cultum, *v.a.* adorn.  
 percurro, -ere, -cūcurri and -curri, -cursum, *v.a.* traverse, overrun.  
 perdo, -ere, perdidī, perdītum, *v.a.* lose.  
 pērdōmo, -are, -ui, -itum, *v.a.* subdue completely.  
 perfēro, -ferre, -tūli, -lātum, *v.a.* endure.

perfūgium, -ii, *n.* refuge.  
 perfundo, -ere, -fūdi, -fusum, *v.a.* sprinkle.  
 pergo, -ere, perrexī, perrectum, *v.a.* complete.  
 perhibeo, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.a.* relate, state.  
 pericūlōsior, -ius, *comp. adj.* more dangerous.  
 pericūlōsissimus, a, -um, *superl. adj.* most dangerous.  
 pericūlum, -i, *n.* danger.  
 pērinde, *adv.* equally, as much.  
 pērtīta, -ae, *f.* skill.  
 peritus, -a, -um, *adj.* skilled, experienced, having knowledge.  
 \*perscrutor, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.a.* examine thoroughly, scour.  
 persōna, -ae, *f.* character (as in a play).  
 persuāsio, -ōnis, *f.* belief.  
 persulto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* scour.  
 pertrāho, -ere, -traxi, -tractum, *v.a.* drag off.  
 pervēnio, -ire, -vēni, -ventum, *v.a.* reach.  
 pessimus, -a, -um, *superl. adj.* worst.  
 pēto, -ere, -Ivi, -Itum, *v.a.* seek, ask for.  
 pētūlantia, -ae, *f.* insolence, insubordination.  
 piētas, -tatis, *f.* filial affection.  
 pliger, -ra, -rum, *adj.* sluggish.  
 piget, -ēre, -uit, *v.a.* it irks, be pained (*acc.* and *gen.*).  
 pignus, -ōris, *n.* (in *pl.*) dear ones.  
 pius, -a, -um, *adj.* pious, righteous; *superl.* piissimus.  
 plāceo, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.n.* please (with *dat.*); placet, *impers.* it pleases, one resolves.  
 plācidē, *adv.* calmly; *comp.* placidius.  
 plango, -ere, planxi, planctum, *v.a.* mourn.  
 planus, -a, -um, *adj.* flat.

plebs, -is (and plēbes, -ēi), *f.*  
     the people.  
 plērique, -aeque, -aque, *adj.*  
     most people.  
 plērumque, *adv.* generally, for  
     most part.  
 plōrātus, -īs, *m.* mourning.  
 plūs, (*gen.*) plūria, *adj.* more;  
     plūres, plura, several.  
 plūs, *adv.* more.  
 poena, -ae, *f.* punishment, penalty.  
 polluo, -ere, -ui, -ūtum, *v.a.*  
     pollute, violate.  
 pōno, -ere, pōsui, pōsitum, *v.a.*  
     place, lay aside.  
 pontificātus, -īs, *m.* priesthood,  
     pontificate.  
 pōpūlōr, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.a.*  
     lay waste.  
 pōpūlus, -i, *m.* the people, the  
     nation.  
 porrectior, -ius, *comp. adj.* too  
     outstretched, extended.  
 porro, *adv.* moreover.  
 porta, -ae, *f.* gate.  
 porticu, -īs, *f.* covered walk,  
     colonnade.  
 portio, -ōnia, *f.* power, ability.  
 portus, -īs, *m.* harbour.  
 posco, -ere, pōposci, *v.a.* demand.  
 pōsitiō, -ōnis, *f.* position.  
 possessio, -ōnis, *f.* occupation;  
     keeping hold of.  
 possum, posse, pōtui, *v.n.* can,  
     be able.  
 post, *prep.* after.  
 postāri, -orum, *m. adj.* after-  
     generations, posterity.  
 postēritas, -tātis, *f.* posterity.  
 postquam, *conj.* after that, when.  
 postrēmo, *adv.* at last, finally.  
 postrēmus, -a, -um, *adj.* last.  
 pōtentia, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* able.  
 pōtestas, -tātis, *f.* power.  
 pōtior, -iri, -Itus, *dep. v.n.* gain  
     possession of (with *abl.*).  
 pōtior, -ius, *comp. adj.* more im-  
     portant, better.  
 pōtius, *adv.* rather,

prae, *prep.* in front of; prae se,  
     outwardly.  
 praebeo, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.a.*  
     offer, present, afford.  
 praecēdo, -ere, -cessi, -cessum,  
     *v.n.* go before.  
 praeceps, (*gen.*) -Itis, *adj.* head-  
     long.  
 praeceptum, -i, *n.* order, maxim.  
 praecipio, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum,  
     *v.a.* order.  
 praecipiu, -a, -um, *adj.* especial.  
 praeda, -ae, *f.* booty.  
 praedico, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
     report.  
 praeditus, -a, -um, *adj.* endowed.  
 praedium, -ii, *n.* farm.  
 praedo, -ōnis, *m.* pirate.  
 praedor, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.n.*  
     plunder, raid.  
 praefectus, -i, *m.* commander (of  
     fleet, cavalry, cohort of auxili-  
     aries).  
 praefero, -ferre, -tūli, -lātum,  
     *v.a.* display.  
 praeficio, -ere, -fēci, -fectum,  
     *v.a.* put in command (*acc.* and  
     *dat.*).  
 praemitto, -ere, -misi, -missum,  
     *v.a.* send in advance.  
 praepōno, -ere, -pōsui, -pōsitum,  
     *v.a.* put at head (*acc.* and *dat.*).  
 praesens, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.*  
     present.  
 praesentia, -ae, *f.* (with *in*) for  
     the present, at present.  
 praesidium, -ii, *n.* garrison,  
     detachment.  
 praestans, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.*  
     superior.  
 praesto, -are, -stīti, -stitum,  
     *v.a.* offer, present.  
 praesum, -esse, -fui, *v.n.* be at  
     the head (with *dat.*).  
 praesūmo, -ere, -sumpsi, -sump-  
     tum, *v.a.* take before the time.  
 praetempto, -are, -avi, -atum,  
     *v.a.* try before.  
 praeter, *prep.* besides, except.

**praetōrius**, -a, -um, *adj.* (legatus), praetorian, *i.e.* imperial (deputy).

**praetūra**, -ae, *f.* praetorship.  
**praevehōr**, -i, -vectus, *dep.v.n.* sail past.

**prēcārio**, *adv.* by sufferance.  
**prēces**, -um, (as from *prox*), *f.* prayers.

**prētiūm**, -ii, *n.* price, reward, prize.

**pridēm**, *adv.* (with iam), long since.

**primus**, -a, -um, *adj.* first, early; primo, in first place, firstly; primum, first of all.

**princeps**, -ipis, *m.* prince, chieftain.

**principātus**, -ūs, *n.* princely power, the court.

**prior**, -us, *comp. adj.* former, earlier.

**privātim**, *adv.* privately.  
**privātus**, -a, -um, *adj.* private.

**prō**, *prep.* for, in behalf of, instead of, in proportion to.

**prōbo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* approve, praise.

**prōconsulātus**, -ūs, *m.* proconsulship.

**pro consule**, a proconsul.

**prōcul**, *adv.* at a distance.

**prōcūrātor**, -ōris, *m.* procurator, governor, financial officer.

**prōcurro**, -ere, -cūcurri and -curti, -cūsum, *v.n.* project.

**prōcursus**, -ūs, *m.* forward movement.

**prōdo**, -ere, -didi, -ditum, *v.a.* set forth.

**proelior**, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.n.* engage in battle.

**proelium**, -ii, *n.* battle.

**prōfecto**, *adv.* assuredly.

**prōfessio**, -ōnis, *f.* declaration.

**prōfessor**, -ōris, *m.* professor, teacher.

**prōficio**, -ere, -fed, -fectum, *v.n.* do good, be of service.

**prōfieiscor**, -i, -fectus, *dep.v.n.* advance.

**prōfundus**, -a, -um, *adj.* deep.

**prōinde**, *adv.* accordingly.

**prōmóveo**, -ere, -mōvi, -motum,

*v.a.* push forward.

**promptu**, in, close at hand, easy.

**promptus**, -a, -um, *adj.* forward, bold, ready, quick;

*comp.* promptior, -ius; *superl.*

**promptissimus**, -a, -um.

**prōnus**, -a, -um, *adj.* inclined, sloping, easy.

**prōpē**, *adv.* nearly.

**prōpērē**, *adv.* hastily.

**prōpinquus**, -a, -um, *adj.* near;

(in *pl.* as *subst.*) relatives.

**prōpior**, -ius, *comp. adj.* nearer.

**proprius**, -a, -um, *adj.* private, peculiar.

**prōpugno**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* fight in front, or in defence of.

**prōpuslo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* ward off.

**prōsēquor**, -i, -sēcūtus, *v.a.* follow up, report.

**prospēritas**, -tatis, *f.* good fortune, success.

**prospērus**, -a, -um, *adj.* prosperous, favourable; *superl.* prosperrimus, -a, -um.

**prōsum**, **prōdesse**, **prōfui**, *v.n.* be beneficial, (with *dat.*).

**prōt**, *conj.* according as, just as.

**prōvēnio**, -ire, -vēni, -ventum, *v.n.* come forth, start.

**prōvincia**, -ae, *f.* province.

**prōvincialis**, -e, *adj.* provincial.

**prōvōco**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* challenge, provoke.

**proximus**, -a, -um, *superl. adj.* next, nearest, last.

**prudēns**, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* prudent, having knowledge of.

**prudēntia**, -ae, *f.* prudence, good sense.

**publīce**, *adv.* at public expense.

**publīcus**, -a, -um, *adj.* public.

**pūdet**, -ere, -uit, *v.a.* it puts to

shame, be ashamed of (*acc.* and *gen.*).  
**pūdor**, -ōris, *m.* sense of shame.  
**puēritia**, -ae, *f.* boyhood.  
**pugna**, -ae, *f.* fight.  
**pugnax**, (*gen.*) -cis, *adj.* warlike.  
**pugno**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.*  
 fight.  
**pulcher**, -ra, -rum, *adj.* fine,  
 grand.  
**pulchritudo**, -inis, *f.* beauty.  
**pūto**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 think, suppose.

**quadriennium**, -ii, *n.* period of  
 four years.  
**quaero**, -ere, *quaesivi*, *quaesi-*  
*tum*, *v.a.* ask, inquire, ask  
 about, try to get.  
**quaestura**, -ae, *f.* quaestorship.  
**quaestus**, -üs, *m.* gain.  
**quālis**, -e, *rel. adj.* (correl. to  
*talis*), as.  
**quam**, *adv.* than; (with *tam*)  
 both...and, as...as.  
**quamquam**, *conj.* although.  
**quamvis**, *conj.* although.  
**quando**, *conj.* when.  
**quanto**, *adv.* (correl. to *tanto*),  
 as, in proportion as.  
**quantulum**, *adv.* how few, how  
 little.  
**quantum**, *adv.* as far as.  
**quantuslibet**, *adj.* as great as  
 you please.  
**quartus**, -a, -um, *adj.* fourth.  
**quattuor**, *indecl. adj.* four.  
**quē**, *conj.* and, but.  
**quērēla**, -ae, *f.* complaint.  
**qui**, *quae*, *quod*, *rel.* and *inter.*  
*adj.* who, which.  
**quiā**, *conj.* because.  
**quidam**, *quae*, *quod*- *dam*  
*(adj.)*, and *quiddam* (*subst.*),  
*indef. pron.* a certain one or  
 thing.  
**quidem**, *adv.* indeed; *ne...*  
*quidem*, not even.  
**quies**, -ētis, *f.* rest, quiet.

**quiesco**, -ere, *quiēvi*, -ētum, *v.n.*  
 rest, keep quiet.  
**quiētus**, -a, -um, *adj.* quiet,  
 peaceful.  
**quin**, *conj.* (with *etiam*), nay  
 even, moreover.  
**quindēcim**, *adj.* *indecl.* fifteen.  
**quinquāgēsimus**, -a, -um, *adj.*  
 fiftieth.  
**quinquāginta**, *adj.* *indecl.* fifty.  
**quintus**, -a, -um, *adj.* fifth.  
**quippe**, *adv.* in fact; with *qui*,  
 as being one who = since he.  
**quis**, *quid*, *interrog. pron.* who?  
 what?  
**quis**, *qua*, *quid*, *indef. pron.*  
 anyone, anything.  
**quisquam**, *quaequam*, *quid-* and  
*quic-* *quam*, *indef. pron.* any.  
**quisque**, *quaeque*, *quodque*  
*(adj.)*, *quidque* and *quicque*  
*(subst.)*, *indef. pron.* each.  
**quisquis**, *quaeque*, *quodquod*  
*(adj.)*, *quidquid* and *quicquid*  
*(subst.)*, *indef. pron.* whoso-  
 ever.  
**quo**, *adv.* whereby, in order that,  
 whither, to which; with *minus*,  
 whereby not, but that; with  
*modo*, in what manner, how;  
 with *eo*, in proportion as.  
**quod**, *conj.* in that, the fact that,  
 because; *quod si*, but if.  
**quōque**, *adv.* also.  
**quōtidie**, *adv.* every day,  
**quōtiens**, *adv.* (correl. to *totiens*),  
 as often as.  
  
**rāpio**, -ere, *rāpui*, *raptum*, *v.a.*  
 seize.  
**raptor**, -ōris, *m.* plunderer.  
**rārus**, -a, -um, *adj.* rare, un-  
 usual, scarce, few, scattered;  
*comp.* and *superl.* *rarior*,  
*rariſſimus*.  
**rātio**, -ōnis, *f.* reason, thought,  
 invention, good judgement.  
**rēbellio**, -ōnis, *f.* renewal of war,  
 outbreak, revolt.

- rēbellis**, -e, *adj.* rebellious; (as *subst.*) rebel.
- rēcēdo**, -ere, -cessi, -cessum, *v.n.* retire.
- rēcens**, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* fresh, new, recent, modern; *superl.* recentissimus, -a, -um.
- rēcenseo**, -ere, -censi, -censum, *v.a.* recount.
- rēcessus**, -ūs, *m.* retired place.
- rēcipēro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* recover.
- rēcipio**, -ere, -cēpi, -ceptum, *v.a.* take, adapt.
- rēcognosco**, -ere, -nōvi, -nitum, *v.a.* revise.
- rēcordor**, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.a.* remember.
- rector**, -ōris, *m.* manager, director.
- rectum**, -i, *n.* rectitude, uprightness.
- rēfuso**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* refuse.
- rēdeo**, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, *v.n.* return.
- rēdigo**, -ere, -ēgi, -actum, *v.a.* reduce, form.
- rēdimō**, -ere, -ēmi, -emptum, *v.a.* purchase.
- rēfēro**, -ferre, -ttūli, -latum, *v.a.* report; with *ad*, make as object, ascribe.
- rēgio**, -ōnis, *f.* region, district.
- rēgius**, -a, -um, *adj.* royal.
- rēgo**, -ere, rex, rectum, *v.a.* direct, govern, guide, steer.
- rēgrēdior**, -i, -gressus, *dep.v.n.* return.
- rēgūlus**, -i, *m.* chieftain.
- rēlēgātus**, -a, -um, *partic.* banished.
- rēlinquo**, -ere, -līqui, -lictum, *v.a.* leave.
- rēlliquis**, -a, -um, *adj.* remaining.
- rēmēdium**, -ii, *m.* cure, remedy.
- rēmēo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.* go back.
- rēmīgo**, -are, *v.n.* row.
- rēmissio**, -ōnis, *f.* relaxation.
- rēmitto**, -ere, -misi, -missum, *v.a.* give up, lessen.
- rēmōtus**, -a, -um, *adj.* distant, retired.
- rēmōveo**, -ere, -mōvi, -motum, *v.a.* remove, take away.
- \***rēnāvīgo**, -are, -avi, -atum, sail back.
- rēor**, **rērī**, *f.* thing, affair, business, fact; **res prosperae**, prosperity; **res publica**, the state, state-affairs.
- rēservo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* reserve, keep.
- rēsisto**, -ere, -stīti, -stītum, *v.n.* oppose, stand ground.
- rēsorbeo**, -ere, *v.a.* (in *pass.*) ebb.
- rēspecto**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* look to.
- rēstituo**, -ere, -ui, -titum, *v.a.* restore.
- rētīneo**, -ere, -tīnui, -tentum, *v.a.* keep back, keep, retain.
- \***rētro**, *adv.* back.
- reus**, -a, -um, *adj.* accused.
- rēvēho**, -ere, -vexi, -vectum, *v.a.* carry back.
- rēvertor**, -i, -versus, *dep. v.n.* return.
- rēvōco**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* recall.
- rēvolvo**, -ere, -volvi, -vōlūtum, *v.a.* ponder over.
- rex**, **rēgis**, *m.* king.
- rīpa**, -ae, *f.* bank.
- rōbur**, **robōris**, *n.* strength, flower of troops.
- Rōmānus**, -a, -um, *adj.* Roman.
- rōber**, -ra, -rum, *adj.* red.
- rūbor**, -ōris, *m.* redness, flush.
- rūdimentum**, -i, *n.* training.

- rūdīs, -e, *adj.* untrained, uncultivated.
- rūmor, -ōris, *m.* story, report.
- ruo, -ere, -i, -itum, *v.n.* rush.
- rursus, *adv.* again, on the other hand.
- rūtilus, -a, -um, *adj.* red, sandy.
- sacerdōtium, -i, *n.* priesthood.
- sacrāmentum, -i, *n.* oath of allegiance.
- sacrificiūm, -ii, *n.* sacrifice.
- sacrilegiūm, -ii, *n.* sacrilege.
- sacrum, -i, *n.* sacred rite.
- saecūlum, -i, *n.* age, generation, epoch.
- saepē *adv.* often; *comp.* saepius.
- saevio, -ire, -ii, -itum, *v.n.* (with in) treat with cruelty, be brutal to.
- saevitia, -ae, *f.* savagery.
- saevus, -a, -um, *adj.* fierce, savage.
- sälarium, -ii, *n.* salary.
- saltus, -üs, *m.* mountain-pass, glade.
- salüber or -ria, -re, *adj.* healing, salutary.
- sälfus, -ütis, *f.* life, safety.
- salvus, -a, -um, *adj.* safe.
- sancio, -ire, sanxi, sanctum, *v.a.* confirm, sanction.
- sänē, *adv.* truly, indeed.
- sanguis, -inis, *m.* blood.
- säpiens, -ntis, *adj.* wise.
- sapientia, -ae, *f.* philosophy.
- sapientius, *comp. adv.* more wisely.
- sarcinae, -arum, *f.* baggage.
- sätiētas, -tatis, *f.* repletion.
- säatio, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* glut.
- sätis, *adv.* enough.
- saxum, -i, *n.* rock, stone.
- scölus, -ōris, *n.* crime.
- scilicet, *adv.* evidently, surely.
- scio, -ire, -ivi, -itum, *v.a.* know.
- scribo, -ere, scripsi, scriptum, *v.a.* write, name in will.
- scriptor, -ōris, *m.* writer.
- scrūtor, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.a.* search, scan.
- scütüla, -ae, *f.* a small dish.
- scütum, -i, *n.* shield (oblong, made of wood and leather).
- se, sui, *refl. pron.* himself, &c.; secum = cum se.
- sécrētum, -i, *n.* remoteness, mystery, secret-brooding, privacy.
- sécrētus, -a, -um, *adj.* remote, hidden, deserted; *comp.* sēcrētior, -ius.
- séundus, -a, -um, *adj.* favourable.
- sécuritas, -tatis, *f.* sense of ease, indifference.
- séculrus, -a, -um, *adj.* free from care, careless, feeling safe, safe.
- séd, *conj.* but.
- sédēs, -is, *f.* abode, seat, headquarters.
- séditio, -ōnis, *f.* mutiny, disturbance.
- séditiōse, *adv.* mutinously.
- segnis, -e, *adj.* slothful; *comp.* segnior, -ius.
- segñiter, *adv.* lazily, indulgently.
- segnitia, -ae, *f.* sloth, inactivity.
- sémel, *adv.* once.
- sémī(nex), (*gen.*) -nēcis, *adj.* half-dead.
- semper, *adv.* always.
- sénātor, -ōris, *m.* senator.
- sénatōrius, -a, -um, *adj.* senatorial.
- sénatus, -üs, *m.* senate.
- sēnectūs, -tūtis, *f.* old age.
- sēnex, sēnis, *m.* old man.
- sententia, -ae, *f.* opinion.
- sento, -ire, sensi, sensum, *v.a.* feel, suffer.
- sēpāro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* separate.
- sēpōno, -ere, -pōsui, -positum, *v.a.* reserve.
- September, -bris, *adj.* September.

**septentriōnālis**, -e, adj. north-ern.  
**sēquor**, -i, secūtus, dep. v.a. follow.  
**sermo**, -ōnis, m. talk, conversa-tion, language.  
**servio**, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum, v.n. be a slave, serve; **servi-ens** (as subst.), slavish courtier.  
**servitium**, -ii, n. slavery.  
**servitūs**, -tūtis, f. slavery.  
**servus**, -i, m. slave.  
**seu**, conj. whether, or.  
**sēvēritas**, -tatis, f. strictness, sternness.  
**sēvērus**, -a, -um, adj. strict, stern.  
**sexāginta**, indecl. adj. sixty.  
**sextus**, -a, -um, adj. sixth.  
**sexus**, -ūs, m. sex.  
**si**, conj. if.  
**si...quidem**, conj. since.  
**sic**, adv. thus, so.  
**sicūbi**, adv. wherever.  
**sicūt**, adv. as.  
**sīdus**, -ēris, n. constellation, star.  
**signum**, -i, n. standard.  
**silentium**, -ii, n. silence.  
**sileo**, -ere, -ui, v.a. to leave unmentioned.  
**Silures**, -um, m. a British tribe (S. Wales).  
**silva**, -ae, f. wood.  
**simili-s**, -e, adj. like.  
**\*similitudo**, -inis, f. imitation.  
**simul**, adv. at the same time.  
**simulacrum**, -i, n. image.  
**simulatio**, -ōnis, f. pretence.  
**sinē**, prep. without.  
**singūli**, -ae, -a, adj. one at a time.  
**sinister**, -ra, -rum, adj. evil.  
**sino**, -ere, sivi, sītum, v.a. allow.  
**sinus**, -ūs, m. bosom, fostering care, recess, sweep of land.  
**situs**, -ūs, m. geography.  
**situs**, -a, -um, adj. situated.  
**sive...sive**, conj. either...or, whether...or.

**sōcer**, -ēri, m. father-in-law.  
**sōcordia**, -ae, f. negligence, in-dolence.  
**sōl**, sōlis, m. sun.  
**sōlācium**, -ii, n. consolation, solace.  
**sōleo**, -ere, -itus sum, v.n. be accustomed.  
**sōlitudo**, -inis, f. wilderness.  
**sōlitus**, -a, -um, adj. usual.  
**sōlemne**, -is, n. customary rite.  
**sōlum**, -i, n. soil.  
**sōlus**, -a, -um, adj. alone.  
**sōmnus**, -i, m. sleep.  
**sōnus**, -i, m. sound.  
**sōrdidus**, -a, -um, adj. degrad-ing, ignominious.  
**sōror**, -ōris, f. sister.  
**sors**, sortis, f. lot.  
**sōrtior**, -iri, -itus, dep. v.a. obtain by lot, allot.  
**spargo**, -ere, sparsi, sparsum, v.a. scatter.  
**spatiūm**, -ii, n. time, space.  
**spēcies**, -ēi, f. form, beauty, show, appearance, pretence.  
**spēciōsua**, -a, -um, adj. showy, pretentious.  
**spectacūlum**, -i, n. sight.  
**specto**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. look at.  
**sperno**, -ere, sprēvi, sprētum, v.a. despise.  
**spes**, spēi, f. hope.  
**spirāmentum**, -i, n. breathing-space, interval.  
**spro**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.n. breathe.  
**splendidus**, -a, -um, adj. bril-liant, illustrious.  
**spōlio**, -are, -avi, -atum, v.a. take the spoil.  
**stātim**, adv. immediately.  
**stātua**, -ae, f. statue.  
**stātuo**, -ere, -ui, -itum, v.a. de-termine.  
**stātus**, -ūs, m. state, condition.  
**sterno**, -ere, strāvi, strātum, v.a. lay low.

- stimulus**, -i, *m.* goad, incentive.  
**sto**, -are, **steti**, **statum**, *v.n.* stand.  
**strages**, -is, *f.* slaughter.  
**strenue**, *adv.* vigorously.  
**streptus**, -is, *m.* noise.  
**strēpo**, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.n.* bawl.  
**studium**, -ii, *n.* pursuit, study, interest, party spirit.  
**suādeo**, -ere, **suasi**, **suasum**, *v.a.* urge, advise.  
**sub**, *prep.* under.  
**subeo**, -ire, -ii, -itum, *v.a.* steal over.  
**subfuscus**, -a, -um, *adj.* darkish.  
**subicio**, -ere, -iēci, -iectum, *v.a.* subject, subdue.  
**subigo**, -ere, -ēgi, -actum, *v.a.* subdue.  
**subinde**, *adv.* next, immediately.  
**sūbitus**, -a, -um, *adj.* sudden.  
**sublatus**. See *tollo*.  
**sublimis**, -e, *adj.* elevated, exalted, lofty, distinguished; *comp.* *sublimior*, -ius.  
**subscribo**, -ere, **scripti**, **scriptum**, *v.a.* register and add to the charge.  
**subsidiū**, -ii, *n.* support, help, reserves.  
**subtilitas**, -tatis, *f.* penetration.  
**subtraho**, -ere, -traxi, -tractum, *v.a.* withdraw.  
**subvenio**, -ire, -vēni, -ventum, *v.n.* come to help.  
**successor**, -ōris, *m.* successor.  
**Suebi**, -orum, *m.* a Germanic tribe.  
**suētus**, -a, -um (*partic.* of *suesco*), accustomed.  
**sufficio**, -ere, -fēci, -fectum, *v.n.* suffice.  
**sum, esse, fui**, *v.n.* be.  
**summa**, -ae, *f.* (with *rērum*), the supreme control; **summus**,  
**summōeo**, -ere, -mōvi, -motum, clear off, remove.
- a, -um, *superl. adj.* highest, greatest.  
**sūmo**, -ere, -psi, -ptum, *v.a.* take, take up.  
**super**, *prep.* above.  
**superbia**, -ae, *f.* pride.  
**superfundō**, -ere, -fūdi, -fusum, *v.a.* pour in.  
**supergrēdior**, -i, -gressus, *v.a.* overcome.  
**stūperō**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* surpass, pass through, pass above.  
**stūperstēs**, (*gen.*) -stītis, *adj.* surviving.  
**superstītio**, -ōnis, *f.* religious rites, national rites.  
**supersum**, -esse, -fui, *v.n.* remain, prevail, abound.  
**suppēditō**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* help.  
**suprā**, *adv.* above.  
**suprēmus**, -a, -um, *superl. adj.* last (in life).  
**Sūria**, -ae, *f.* Syria (Roman province).  
**suspīctor**, -ius, *comp. adj.* more suspected.  
**suspīcio**, -ere, -spexi, -spectum, *v.a.* suspect.  
**suspīrium**, -ii, *n.* sigh.  
**sustīneō**, -ere, -tinui, -tentum, *v.a.* support, bear up.  
**suus**, -a, -um, *pron. adj.* his own, &c.  
**tāceo**, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.n.* and *a.* silent, leave unmentioned.  
**tālis**, -e, *pron. adj.* such.  
**tam**, *adv.* so; **tam...quam**, as... as.  
**tāmen**, *adv.* nevertheless, yet.  
**tamquam**, *adv.* as though.  
**Tanaum**, -i, *n.* (or **Taum**), an unknown estuary of Britain.  
**tandem**, *adv.* at length.  
**tantum**, -i, *n.* so much.  
**tantum**, *adv.* only.  
**tantus**, -a, -um, *pron. adj.* so

much; **tanto**, by so much;  
**tantum**, to such an extent.  
**tarde**, *adv.* slowly; *comp.* **tar-dius**.  
**tardus**, -a, -um, *adj.* slow; *comp.*  
**tardior**, -ius.  
**tectum**, -i, *n.* house, hut.  
**tēgo**, -ere, **texi**, **tectum**, *v.a.*  
cover, shelter.  
**tēlum**, -i, *n.* weapon.  
**tēmēritas**, -tatis, *f.* rashness.  
**tempōro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
temper, blend, restrain.  
**tempestas**, -tatis, *f.* storm,  
wind, weather.  
**templum**, -i, *n.* temple.  
**tempus**, -oris, *n.* time; (also in  
*pl.*) crises, troubled times.  
**tēnebrae**, -arum, *f.* darkness.  
**tēneo**, -ere, **tenui**, **tentum**, *v.a.*  
hold, keep, retain, possess,  
make (harbour).  
\***tēnor**, -oris, *m.* course.  
**tēnuo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
make thin, narrow.  
**tēnus**, *prep.* as far as.  
**tergum**, -i, *n.* back.  
**terminus**, -i, *m.* bounds, limit.  
**terra**, -ae, *f.* land, earth; **orbis**  
terrārum, the world.  
**terreo**, -ere, -ui, -itum, *v.a.*  
frighten.  
**terror**, -oris, *m.* fear.  
**tertium**, *adv.* for the third time.  
**tertius**, -a, -um, *adj.* third.  
**testāmentum**, -i, *n.* will.  
**testimōnum**, -ii, *n.* witness,  
attestation.  
**testis**, -is, *m.* witness, true re-  
porter.  
**Thūlē**, -es, *f.* probably Shetland.  
**timeo**, -ere, -ui, *v.a.* and *n.* fear,  
be afraid.  
**tīmor**, -oris, *m.* fear.  
**tītūlus**, -i, *m.* nominal rank.  
**tōga**, -ae, *f.* toga.  
**tōgātus**, -i, *m.* a civilian.  
**tōlēro**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
endure.

**tollo**, -ere, **sustūli**, **sublātum**,  
*v.a.* take up for rearing (of a  
child), remove.  
\***torpor**, -oris, *m.* numbness (of  
fear), stupefaction, paralysis.  
**torlus**, -a, -um, *adj.* curly (from  
torqueo).  
**tot**, *pron. adj. indecl.* so many.  
**tōtus**, -a, -um, *adj.* whole.  
**trādo**, -ere, -idi, -itum, *v.a.*  
hand over, hand down, relate.  
**trāho**, -ere, **traxi**, **tractum**, *v.a.*  
drag, haul.  
**trācio**, -ere, -iēci, -iectum, *v.a.*  
and *n.* transport.  
**tranquillitas**, -tatis, *f.* peace.  
**trans**, *prep.* across.  
**transeo**, -ire, -ivi and -ii, -itum,  
*v.n.* go across, pass over.  
**transgrēdior**, -i, -gressus, *v.n.*  
cross, come over, give in al-  
legiance.  
**transīgo**, -ere, -ēgi, -actum, *v.a.*  
(of time) pass; (with cum) have  
done (*sc. rem*) with.  
**transītus**, -üs, *m.* passing.  
**transmittō**, -ere, -misi, -missum,  
*v.a.* send across.  
**transvēho**, -ere, -veri, -vectum,  
*v.a.* carry across, and **trans-**  
**vehor**, ride across.  
**transversus**, -a, -um, *adj.* on the  
flank.  
**trēcenti**, -ae, -a, *adj.* three  
hundred.  
**trēpidātio**, -ōnis, *f.* alarm, bustle.  
**trēpidus**, -a, -um, *adj.* alarmed.  
**trēs**, **tria** (*acc. m. trīs*), three.  
**tribūnātus**, -üs, *m.* office of  
tribune.  
**tribūtum**, -i, *n.* tribute.  
**trienniūm**, -ii, *n.* space of three  
years.  
**triginta**, *indecl. adj.* thirty.  
**tristis**, -e, *adj.* mournful.  
**triumphālis**, -e, *adj.* triumphal.  
**triumphus**, -i, *m.* triumph.  
**triumvīri**, -ōrum, *m.* commis-  
sion of three.

**Trucculensis**, -e, *adj.* an unknown port in Britain.  
**trucidō**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* butcher, massacre.  
**tum**, } *adv.* then, at that time.  
**tunc**, } *adv.* then, at that time.  
**turba**, -ae, *f.* crowd.  
**turma**, -ae, *f.* troop of horse.  
**tūtus**, -a, -um, *adj.* safe; *comp.* *tutior*.  
**tuus**, -a, -um, *pron.adj.* your.  
**ubi**, *adv.* where, when.  
**ubique**, *adv.* everywhere.  
**ulciscor**, -i, *ultus*, *dep.v.a.* avenge.  
**ullus**, -a, -um, *adj.* any.  
**ultērior**, -ius, *comp.adj.* further.  
**ultimus**, -a, -um, *superl.adj.* last, furthest.  
**ultio**, -ōnis, *f.* revenge.  
**ultor**, -ōris, *m.* avenger.  
**ultrā**, *prep.* and *adv.* beyond, further.  
**ultro**, *adv.* still further, first, of own accord.  
**umbo**, -ōnis, *m.* boss of shield.  
**umbra**, -ae, *f.* shadow.  
**ūmor**, -ōris, *m.* moisture.  
**umquam**, *adv.* ever.  
**undē**, *adv.* whence.  
**ūniversus**, -a, -um, *adj.* all together, the entire; *in universum*, in general.  
**ūnus**, -a, -um, *adj.* one, single, alone.  
**urbs**, *urbis*, *f.* city, (esp.) Rome.  
**uro**, -ere, -ussi, *ustum*, *v.a.* burn.  
**Usipi**, -orum, *m.* a Germanic tribe.  
**ūsitatūs**, -a, -um, *adj.* usual, customary.  
**usquam**, *adv.* anywhere.  
**usquē**, *adv.* up to.  
**ūsurpo**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* use, enjoy.  
**ūsus**, -ūs, *m.* experience, practice, advantage.

**ūt**, *ūti*, *adv.* and *conj.* as, when, that.  
**utcumque**, *adv.* by some means or other.  
**uterque**, *utraque*, *utrumque*, *adj.* both.  
**ūtilis**, -e, *adj.* useful, advantageous, expedient; also \*ūtilia = necessities.  
**ūtor**, -i, *usus*, *dep.v.n.* use, employ (with *abl.*).  
**utrimque**, *adv.* on both sides.  
**uxor**, -ōris, *f.* wife.  
**vācūus**, -a, -um, *adj.* empty, not occupied, vacant.  
**vādūm**, -i, *n.* shallow, ford.  
**vāgus**, -a, -um, *adj.* roving.  
**vālētiſſimūs**, -a, -um, *superl.* *adj.* strongest, most vigorous.  
**vālētūdo**, -inis, *f.* sickness.  
**vālidus**, -a, -um, *adj.* strong, powerful; *superl.* *validissimūs*, -a, -um.  
**vallūm**, -i, *n.* rampart, entrenchment.  
**vānitas**, -tatis, *f.* personal display.  
**vānus**, -a, -um, *adj.* idle, vain.  
**vārius**, -a, -um, *adj.* varied, different.  
**vasto**, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* waste.  
**vastus**, -a, -um, *adj.* dreary, desolate, wide.  
**vēhēmens**, (*gen.*) -ntis, *adj.* impetuous, ardent.  
**vēhēmentius**, *comp.adv.* too impetuously, ardently.  
**vēl**, *adv.* even, or.  
**vēlox**, (*gen.*) -cis, *adj.* swift; *superl.* *velocissimūs*.  
**vēlūt**, *adv.* just as, as it were; and *conj.* (= *velut si*) just as if.  
**vēnēnum**, -i, *n.* poison.  
**vēneo**, -ire, -īvi and -īi, -ītum, *v.n.* be sold.  
**vēnērōr**, -ari, -atus, *dep.v.a.* revere.

- věnia, -ae, *f.* pardon.  
 věnio, -ire, věni, ventum, *v.n.*  
 come.  
 ventito, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.n.*  
 come often.  
 ventus, -i, *m.* wind.  
 věnumdo, -dare, -dēdi, -dātum,  
*v.a.* sell.  
 verber, -ēris, *n.* lash.  
 verbēro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 lash, (*metaph.*) plague.  
 verbum, -i, *n.* word.  
 věrēcundia, -ae, *f.* modesty.  
 věreor, -ēri, -itūs, *dep. v.a.* fear.  
 věro, *adv.* in truth, but.  
 versor, -ari, -atus, *dep. v.n.*  
 employ one's self.  
 verto, -ere, verti, versum, *v.a.*  
 and *n.* turn.  
 věrus, -a, -um, *adj.* true.  
 vescor, -i, *dep. v.a.* feed on (with  
*acc.*).  
 vestigium, -ii, *n.* footprint, trace.  
 větěrānus, -i, *m.* veteran.  
 věto, -are, -ui, -itum, *v.a.* for-  
 bid.  
 větus, (*gen.*) větēris, *adj.* old,  
 ancient.  
 větustas, -tatis, *f.* long period.  
 vexillum, -i, *n.* standard, flag,  
 company.  
 vícem, in, mutually.  
 vicensimus, -a, -um, *adj.*  
 twentieth.  
 vices, -ium (in *pl.*), *f.* vicissitudes.  
 vicinus, -a, -um, *adj.* neigh-  
 bouring.  
 victor, -ōris, *m.* conqueror.  
 victoria, -ae, *f.* victory.  
 victus, -a, -um (*partic.* of *vinco*),  
 as *pl. subst.* the conquered.  
 video, -ere, vidi, visum, *v.a.* see.  
 videor, -eri, visus, *dep. v.n.* seem;  
 vidētur, *impers.* it seems good.  
 vigll, -is, *m.* sentinel.  
 vigor, -ōris, *m.* energy, vigour.  
 viliis, -e, *adj.* cheap.  
 vincio, -ire, vinxi, vinctum, *v.a.*  
 bind.  
 vinculum, -i, *n.* bond.  
 vinco, -ere, vici, victum, *v.a.*  
 conquer, defeat.  
 vindico, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 claim.  
 vīr, vīri, *m.* man.  
 vires, -ium, *f.* (*pl. of vis*),  
 strength, forces.  
 viridis, -e, *adj.* vigorous.  
 virilis, -e, *adj.* of a man.  
 virtus, -tutis, *f.* virtue, valour,  
 merit.  
 vis (vim, vi), *f.* violence.  
 viso, -ere, visi, visum, *v.a.* pay  
 visit to.  
 visus, -us, *m.* sight, look.  
 vita, -ae, *f.* life.  
 vitabundus, -a, -um, *adj.* avoid-  
 ing.  
 vītis, -is, *f.* vine.  
 vitium, -ii, *n.* vice, shortcoming,  
 fault.  
 vīto, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* avoid.  
 vivo, -ere, vixi, victum, *v.n.* live.  
 vivus, -a, -um, *adj.* alive.  
 vöco, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.* call.  
 völo, velle, völi, *v.n.* and *a.*  
 wish.  
 völuptas, -tatis, *f.* pleasure.  
 vötum, -i, *n.* wish, prayer.  
 vox, vöcis, *f.* voice, utterance.  
 vulgo, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 publish, spread abroad.  
 vulgus, -i, *n.* the people.  
 vulnēro, -are, -avi, -atum, *v.a.*  
 wound.  
 vulnus, -ēris, *n.* wound, serious  
 loss.  
 vultus, -us, *m.* looks, face.



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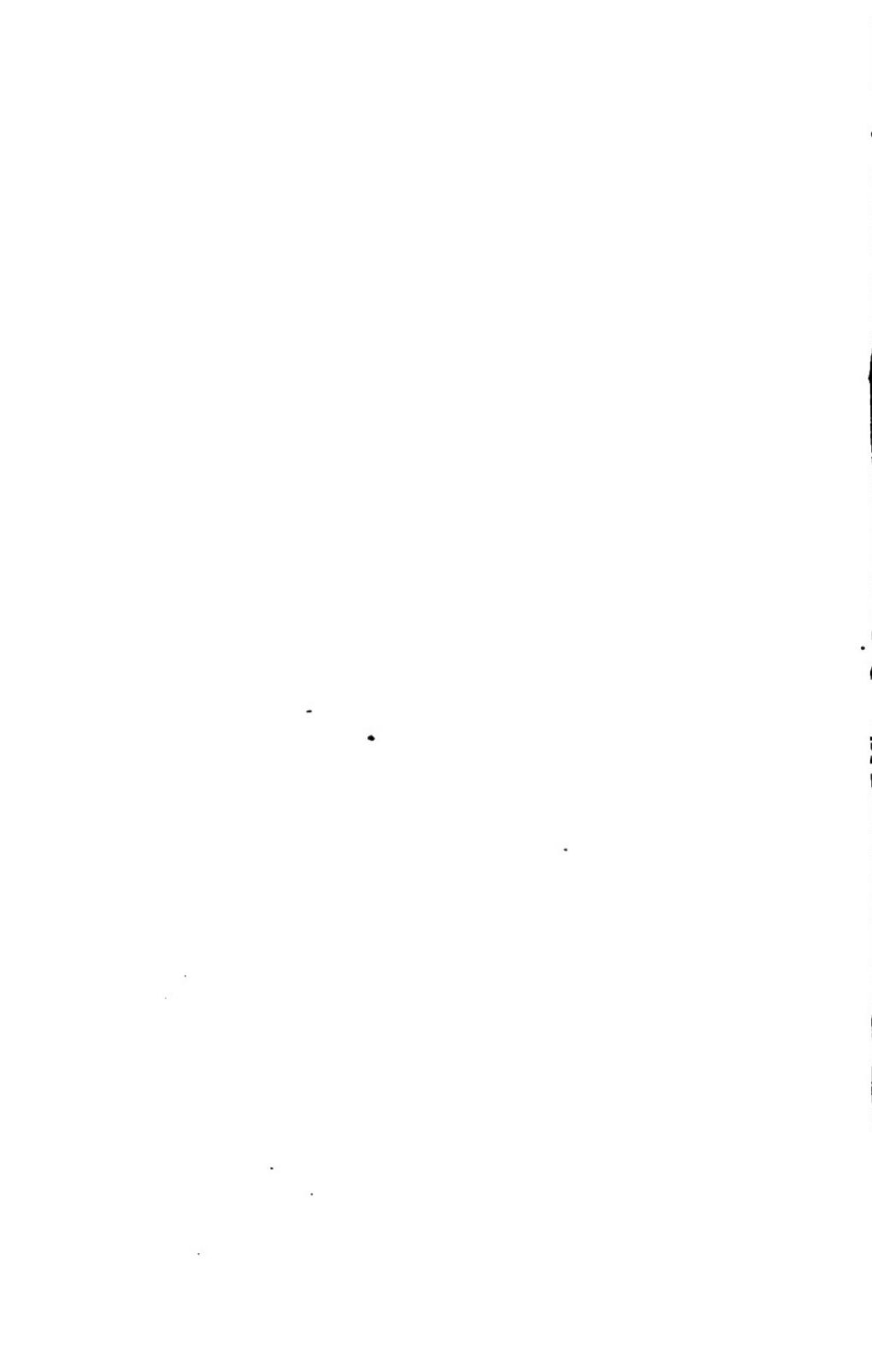
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Sallust, influence of—

(i) General arrangement: Preface 1-8; cf. Cat. 1-4, and Jug. 1-4; early life 4-9; Cat. 5, 15-19, and Jug. 6-16; Britain, geography 10-12; Jug. 17; Britain, history 13-17; Jug. 18,

19; digressions 24, 28; Cat. 38, 39; Jug. 41, 42, 78, 79; speeches 30-34; Cat. 51, 52, 58; Jug. 85, 102, 110; great battle 35-38; Cat. 59, 60; Jug. 101.

(ii) Language: 11. 1 qui . . . coluerint; 18. 6 clarus . . . haberit; 26. 2 pro . . . certare; 30. 6 opes . . . inopiam; 33. 4 omnia . . . victoribus; 36. 3 imbecilla, &c.

Seneca, influence of: 3. 2 nostri superstites (and Sen. Ep. 30. 5, 'tamquam superstes sibi'); 42. 4 odisse . . . laeseris; 35. 2 citra sanguinem; 46. 1 contemplationem.

Verbs, omitted: (be) 16. 5; 24. 1; 26. 3; 29. 1; (appear) 17. 1; 32. 1; (arise) 11. 1; 21. 3; (do) 10. 2; (say) 16. 5; (pertain) 44. 3; (act) 9. 3 (?); (proceed) 10. 6; (marching) 18. 3; 33. 5.

Indicative in apodosis: 31. 5; 37. 1; and cf. 4. 4 and 13. 4.

Infinitive, present for future: 9. 6; (with adj.) 8. 1.

Subjunctive, frequentative: 9. 3; with si (apod. in indic.) 13. 1; with quamquam 3. 1; 13. 2; (protasis omitted) 24. 1; 33. 6 (?); 44. 2.

Supine (with pudet) 32. 1; (with digna) 1. 2.

Transitive use of intrans.: (eluctor) 17. 3; (evado) 33. 5; 44. 5; (incursio) 36. 3; (egredior) 33. 3; (vescor) 28. 3.

Intransitive use of trans.: (verto) 31. 5; (excuso) 42. 3; (transigo) 34. 2.

Virgil, influence of: 6. 5 dona recognoscenda; 13. 4 monstratus fatis; 25. 1 copiis et laetitia (?); 29. 4 cruda; 37. 3 aliquando; 39. 4 curis exercitus; 36. 2 miscere ictus; 16. 1 femina duce.

Zeugma: 3. 1 nec spem modo . . . sed robur adsumperit (figure explained).

18. 1 dilectum . . . et munera obeunt.

19. 3 nec poena sed paenitentia contentus.

29. 3 et ultionem aut servitium expectantes (?).

31. 2 corpora ipsa ac manus . . . inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur (?).

31. 3 metallum aut portus, quibus exercendis reservemur.

33. 4 non fama . . . sed castris tenemus (?).

41. 4 optimus quisque amore . . . pessimi malignitate ex stimulabant.

44. 5 augurio votisque . . . ominabatur.

(45. 1 Maurici visus . . . sanguine Senecio perfudit.)